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Chernyshev: SDI Remains 'Serious Obstacle'

LD281527 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text]Moscow 28 Oct (TASS)—Vladimir Chernyshev, a TASS observer on military matters, writes:

Official Washington stubbornly continues to claim that the SDI program is the cornerstone of its policy in the field of national security and that the present administration will never allow it to be turned into a bargaining object in talks with the Soviet Union. Thus this program remains a serious obstcale in the way of a reduction in strategic offensive weapons, in the way of a stable peace.

Representatives of the administration are claiming that SDI will provide the "leverage" to help "convince" the Soviet Union to continue reducing offensive weapons arsenals. However, elementary logic indicates that to reduce offensive armaments given the threat of deployment of SDI means helping the United States in its quest for strategic superiority. According to the SDI program, after all, weapons are being created, and, what is more, weapons not only against missiles, but also against installations in the atmosphere and on earth. Furthermore, this program is directed not at "destroying nuclear armaments," as they state in official Washington, but at creating more sophisticated and more lethal weapons, including nuclear ones. The "Star Warriors" are aiming not at removing the system of nuclear retribution but at supplementing it with strike space armaments.

In Washington they are dreaming about making the Soviet weaponry of retaliation "obsolete and impotent" while U.S. weaponry is made increasingly sophisticated. The Pentagon leadership has "explained" frequently that in creating SDI the United States will also have a powerful strategic triad for dealing a crushing nuclear blow, that is, even after the deployment of the wide-scale antimissile defense system with space echelons the "nuclear deterrent forces" will form the "basis of security" as before.

The threat to mankind from striking weapons in space, the preservation of U.S. nuclear arms and the neutralization of the other side's nuclear arms, the ensuring of the exclusive security of the United States and the strengthening of the threat for everybody else—this is where the "star road" paved by the SDI program will lead.

Taking into account without fail the close objective link between strategic offensive and defensive weapons, effective measures to limit the antimissile defense system, consistent observation of the spirit and letter of the Soviet-U.S. antimissile defense treaty are called upon as factors of exceptional importance in the cause of a reduction in strategic offensive weapons. It is precisely this that the Soviet Union is calling for, and it is precisely this that official Washington opposes.

Further on Shikhany CW Destruction Display

PM261651 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Oct 87 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Vaberdin article: "Shikhany: Two Days in October. On the Way to Concluding a Convention"]

[Text] Shikhany-Moscow—This name of a population center which can be found only on a very detailed geographical map is now being pronounced in very different points on the planet. Shikhany means the most elevated place in the steppe. This is the translation of the word from the languages of the peoples of the Volga region. But these days it has acquired a somewhat different meaning—elevated goals.

At the Soviet military installation here an example of the new approach to resolving international problems was demonstrated 3 and 4 October. Probably for the first time in history troops revealed "secrets under lock and key" not in order to demonstrate their might and to intimidate but in order to think "all together" about how to renounce the use of, and actively embark on the destruction of, the means that exist in armies' arsenals of one of the most barbarous types of weapons—chemical weapons.

I have before me a recent teletype tape:

"The British Army is continuing to rehearse methods of using toxins: On a test ground in Angus (Scotland) soldiers were exposed to CS gas.

"The magazine *Sanity* reports that the Ministry of Defense is currently funding 76 similar projects, which are being implemented in 36 universities and colleges..."

Here is an earlier fact. The U.S. Senate has rescinded amendments to a law prohibiting the production of binary weapons. According to data from foreign news agencies, it is planned to begin producing them in December.

This is the negative background against which the new Soviet initiative is being mounted. Well, sinister vessels containing deadly chemicals have today been secreted all over the planet—this is a reality of the modern world. Equally real is the fact that, obeying an ill will, the "crafty jinni" could burst forth at any moment, sowing "silent death" over the earth.

At a briefing organized for foreign and Soviet journalists in Shikhany Lieutenant General A. Kuntsevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a leading USSR Defense Ministry expert, emphasized that the toxicity of toxins has increased a thousandfold during 50 years of research in the sphere of chemistry. At the same time, the population density in Europe, for

example, has increased 50-100%. You need not be a specialist to imagine the possible outcome of the further stockpiling and improvement of chemical weapons.

At the Shikhany test site, and later in Moscow, these questions could frequently be heard: "Have we shown everything? If so, why have we stripped 'to the skin'? Will this not harm our defense?" Reasonable questions, and exhaustive answers were given to them during the demonstration, the briefing, and the press conference.

A recent reportage from the military installation enumerated in detail the models of ammunition and toxins on display. What remains to be added to what was said is the statement at the press conference by Colonel General V. Pikalov, chief of chemical forces at the USSR Ministry of Defense.

"The volume and the specific nature of the information presented in Shikhany," he said, "enable specialists to draw quite definite conclusions and obtain a full picture of our chemical weapons system. We have shown all the toxins and all the delivery vehicles—chemical ammunition—in our arsenal. Everything, with the exception of certain modified models with insignificant differences in layout and use of structural materials."

By such a detailed and candid demonstration we have sought to emphasize once again the vital need to deliver mankind from a most dangerous type of weapon and to explain the entire complexity—technical and ecological—of the problems of destroying them.

The step taken in Shikhany is a natural one in the chain of events begun by the 15 January 1986 statement of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "The Soviet Union," he pointed out, "considers it a perfectly realistic task to completely eliminate also such barbarous mass destruction weapons as chemical weapons in this century." The successfully concluded latest round of multilateral talks on a total chemical weapon ban attests that the world today is closer than ever to this cherished goal.

We must undoubtedly be realistic and realize that the way to a convention is not a one-way street along which it could be easy to advance. As Robert van Schaik, Netherlands ambassador at the Geneva talks, expressed himself in this regard: "...We have now gotten to the middle, as it were, of what in Russian can be called a precipice. But we must not think that, having overcome it, we will emerge onto a plateau, onto the plains which will resemble my country, the Netherlands. We will still have to clamber up steep slopes and overcome precipices..."

Here, in Shikhany, at the time of the demonstration there was animated discussion of these problems, the Soviet act of trust, and the Geneva talks. This is further graphic proof that there is a real possibility of completing the work on the text of the convention in the very near future.

Yes, different and sometimes quite opposite viewpoints were expressed. But the chief thing, as Rolf Ekeus, head of the Swedish delegation and chairman of the Select Committee on Chemical Weapons at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, pointed out, is that political agreement has already been reached on the need to destroy chemical weapons—agreement in principle. It is now a question of working out the details.

"The Shikhany demonstration," Rolf Ekeus continued, "was important in two aspects: It provided an opportunity, on the one hand, to look at the problem from within, as it were, and to understand its entire seriousness and, on the other, to assess the Soviet side's trust in its partners."

While voicing great satisfaction with the information obtained there, at the Soviet military installation, and calling it "full," Graham Pirson [name as published], member of the British delegation and chief of the Military Chemical Institute, expressed his regret that he could not take detailed prospectuses of the demonstration away with him. As for the draft convention, in his opinion it will not happen so soon. He pointed out that very many particular technical questions still have to be resolved. Most importantly, reliable verification methods have to be elaborated. In his opinion, binary weapons could make it much more difficult to achieve the goal. For the necessary components of a binary toxin can be produced in the civilian chemical industry. Here the need to conceal stocks of these substances falls away, and they can even be produced in the guise of chemical plant protection agents or intermediate raw materials for obtaining pharmaceutical products.

Lieutenant Colonel Laszlo Mate, expert in the Hungarian delegation at the Geneva talks, said this:

"The display of chemical ammunition, the destruction of one piece of ammunition, the accessibility, the honest information—all this produces a strong impression and will, I hope, help our discussion in Geneva and help to draw up an agreement more quickly."

Professor Xiong Chengdong, PRC Defense Ministry expert:

"The Soviet initiative in demonstrating methods of destroying chemical weapons is impressive. It will undoubtedly contribute to the convention's speediest conclusion."

While acknowledging in the course of a conversation the great effect of the demonstration, Bernard Zhesber [name as published], a military expert in the French delegation, threw out this rejoinder: "Next time I would like to be shown other kinds of chemical weapons too." Well, this too is understandable. Sowing doubts, where possible, about the sincerity of the initiative and casting aspersions on good intentions—all this was evidently a

separate point in the "work plans" of certain observers. Yet the leitmotiv of the statements heard in Shikhany was the same—a crucial stage in decisionmaking is coming.

Of course, many questions have still to be discussed. We have to think through the coordination of actions relating to verification, of which much has already been said in the press, and a whole number of purely technical questions. When drawing up the draft convention, for example, it is necessary to clearly formulate the very concept of chemical weapons, elaborate methods of determining the criteria of toxicity for the chemicals to which the convention applies, set thresholds of toxicity...

As practice shows, the goals really can be achieved—the necessary base of scientific studies and technical solutions exists. It is up to the politicians. It is necessary to go over more quickly to the sphere of organizational questions, to a dynamic constructive dialogue on specific problems.

There are more than enough grounds for such dialogues. This summer the Soviet Union put forward a proposal based on the principle of so-called inspections on demand. The United States seems to be prepared to agree to inspections, but only on its own territory (although there too they are trying to exclude the private sector from "examination"). But as regards their "overseas" stores and installations, "keep out."

How can industry be monitored [prokontrolirovat] without harming commercial interests and without seeking to expose industrial secrets? How can the secret production of chemical weapons be prevented in purely civilian industry? An international seminar which Netherlands specialists organized at one of their plants last year was devoted to these questions.

Methods of the toxicological evaluation of the characteristics of toxins were demonstrated at the Shikhany military installation. They may also be taken as the basis for discussing the formulation of the specific provision in the future convention. A mobile complex for the destruction of chemical ammunition—a good addition to stationary plants, construction of one of which has begun not far from Chapayevsk in Kuybyshev Oblast—was displayed there as a standard complex.

The two October days in Shikhany and the display of the standard pool of chemical weapons and of the technology for destroying them are only the first step. It is now a question, for example, of the possibility of Soviet specialists' traveling to centers of chemical troops: to Tooele (United States) and Muenster (West Germany). There is discussion of the question of a possible exchange of visits between British and Soviet specialists, in particular a trip by our experts to the military installation at Porton Down.

"We believe," V. Karpov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Administration for Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament, emphasized at the press conference, "that confidence-building measures must be switched to a multilateral basis. From bilateral contacts for exchanging opinions to a multilateral exchange of data even before the convention is concluded. This would considerably facilitate the elaboration of ideas on the further practical steps which are now essential at the Geneva conference."

Shevardnadze Leaves for Pact Meeting
LD282344 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[text] Comrade Shevardnadze today left Moscow for Prague to take part in a meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of Warsaw Pact member states. At the airport he was seen off by Comrade Chebrikov and other officials.

Later in the day Comrade Shevardnadze arrived in the Czechoslovak capital. On the same day there was a meeting between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Gustav Husak.

Arrival in Prague
LD281700 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Prague, 28 Oct (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived in the Czechoslovak capital today. He will take part in a session of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states.

CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and other officials welcomed him at the Ruzyne airport.

Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, was among the welcoming party.

East Bloc Foreign Debt Problem Analyzed
PM281445 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Oct 87 p 14

[Doctor of Economic Sciences Valeriy Karabayev article: "Our Debts"]

[Text] The acceleration of socioeconomic development is practically impossible without the more active involvement of the national economy in the broad international division of labor and in world economic ties. After all, both our country and the whole socialist community are an integral part of the world economy. The significance of the foreign economic factor is considerably greater now in the conditions of the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution and the increasing economic interdependence of states. Autarky, isolation from the world economy, is the direct path to technological stagnation and socioeconomic degradation. As long ago as the early twenties V.I. Lenin told a U.S. journalist: "I can see no reason why a socialist state such as ours cannot have unrestricted business relations with capitalist countries."

We had no reason to restrict our economic ties with capitalist countries in those years, and that is equally true today, when our economy has grown immeasurably and the world socialist economic system has become stronger.

However, the period of stagnation in the seventies and early eighties also affected our foreign economic activity. We are reaping the bitter harvest of those times and suffering the influence of the braking mechanism and "cost-based economy" now, when for the second successive year the USSR's foreign trade turnover with the West has declined, the trade deficit with the developed capitalist countries has increased again, and the foreign debt in convertible Western currencies is growing. The fraternal socialist countries are also experiencing serious difficulties in their economic relations with the West.

It goes without saying that we suffered greatly from the recent fall in world oil prices. After all, they fell from $28 a barrel at the beginning of 1985 to $10-$12 in 1986. Prices have risen somewhat now, but are still far below their old level. And because oil and petroleum products are our main export commodity to Western markets, our foreign currency export income was bound to fall as well. Our national economy received correspondingly fewer imported goods.

The backward, one could even say "colonial," structure of our export trade to the West, four-fifths of which comprises energy sources, is the direct consequence of the lengthy period of extensive development preceding it. After all, in the seventies world oil prices increased sharply, more than tenfold, and the export of oil yielded enormous revenue. Foreign trade exchange with the West grew dynamically, plans were fulfilled and even overfulfilled, and foreign trade workers were highly rewarded. But few gave thought to the fact that the "oil El Dorado" cannot go on forever, that prices in the world market are unstable, and that it is necessary to prepare for less favorable times.

The "trouble spots" in economic relations with the West undoubtedly include the problem of the socialist countries' foreign debt. In the recent past people preferred to keep quiet about that and, as always, the "attitude of silence" provided scope for all manner of speculation by Western propaganda: There was plenty of talk about the socialist countries' insolvency, the almost intrinsic inefficiency of their economy, and so forth.

What is the real state of affairs, what caused the situation which came about, and what solutions are there?

Approximately one-third of the European socialist countries' total debt—$35 billion—is down to one country: Poland. Is that figure great or small? For comparison let us note that the foreign debt of the developing countries is more than 1 trillion dollars and that Brazil alone owes more than $100 billion.

In the mid-eighties Poland's foreign debt was the eighth largest in the world. The group of the 25 largest debtors also included Yugoslavia, whose foreign debt exceeded 20 billion dollars. However, in terms of per capita debt Poland's position was more modest—only 15th in the world—better than not only Yugoslavia but also Hungary, which has the highest per capita indicator among the socialist countries.

In convertible currency, the foreign debt of the most indebted socialist countries is almost $1,000 per capita. At the official exchange rate of approximately R700, which does not seem that much. But when you think that this is the debt of every inhabitant in the country, from newborn babes to old-age pensioners and, most importantly, that the interest on this debt is increasing all the time and the repayment date is getting closer, the picture is far from comforting. In 1986 alone, according to the UN ECE's figures, debt interest payments absorbed 43% of Poland's exports to capitalist countries, around 20% of Hungary's exports, and 9% of Romania's exports. And this, after all, is a direct drain on the currency revenue and automatically undermines their import potential. The net debt—excluding payments to Western banks—is 5.2 times greater than Poland's exports to capitalist countries and 2.8 times greater than Hungary's exports. The net debt of countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, and the GDR is approximately equal to their annual exports, while in the case of the USSR and the CSSR it is equivalent to one-half of their exports.

For all the diversity of national indicators, it can be said that the foreign debt problem has worsened for all countries in the second half of the eighties and the effort required to pay debts off has placed a heavy burden on their economies. It is a particularly alarming fact that since 1985 the absolute growth of that debt, which had been halted, has resumed. A role was played here, of course, by the fall in the rate of the U.S. dollar, the currency in which the total debt is expressed. Whether the dollar is "weak" or "strong," however, it must still be earned in the world market so as to settle the debts, and that is becoming increasingly difficult today.

It may be said that the socialist countries' current debt was inherited from the seventies, when it increased by approximately a factor of 12. Let us think back to those times. Foreign policy detente, which reached its zenith in the middle of the decade with the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki, promoted East-West economic cooperation. The world economic situation was favorable, too: The international capital market was awash with cheap credit, and the high inflation rate, which exceeded the credit interest rate, made credit seem a giveaway. Western states, firms, and banks were eager to give credit on favorable terms for export to the socialist countries, which they regarded as a good credit risk.

The provision of credit for export in international trade is perfectly normal, and the overwhelming proportion of machinery and equipment in the world market is sold on credit. And because machinery, equipment, and investment commodities in general have always formed a significant part of the socialist countries' imports from the developed capitalist states—between one-third and one-half—it has always been quite natural to buy them on credit. Credits on a barter basis—with payment in the form of output from the enterprises built on borrowed money—were particularly advantageous.

It was in that period that the concept of the "reliable debtor" emerged in Poland and an economic policy was pursued aimed at taking maximum advantage of Western credits so as to make large-scale purchases of manufacturing equipment, to create a competitive export sector on that basis, to penetrate the world market with Polish goods on a massive scale, and subsequently to pay off the debts automatically, so to speak. Such was the plan, although nothing is automatic in life, and the other CEMA countries, without proclaiming themselves "reliable debtors," resorted to borrowing massive amounts from the West. To be more accurate, half the job was done—with regard to obtaining credits and buying equipment on a huge scale. The other half of the job—the creation of an export sector, the mass production of competitive goods, the penetration of the world market with them, and the liquidation of debts—proved more difficult and was not achieved.

It could not have been otherwise. Under the conditions of the extensive economic model and the cost-based mechanism existing in most countries, there was no possibility of ensuring the efficient use of such large injections of Western capital and technology. The extensive economy soaked up foreign resources like a sponge and demanded more and more to cover the chronic and constantly recurring deficits. Everyone needed "giveaway" imports and ministries, departments, and associations lobbied planning and foreign trade organs as they sought to build more and more new prestige projects which simply had to use imported equipment. And that equipment—worth billions of rubles, zlotys, and crowns—ended up as uninstalled stock or was unfinished because the construction industry could not produce the buildings in time to house it. Meanwhile the equipment aged, became rusty, or was simply stolen. The manufacturer's guarantee period expired; yet the equipment had yielded no export output. By contract to imports, the cost-based mechanism created no interest in exports. Spoiled by their monopoly position in the home market, where everything sold regardless of quality, the ministries, associations, and enterprises in the CEMA countries had no great aspirations toward the world market, with its powerful competition and rigid demands regarding output quality and delivery schedules. Export goods, even those produced using imported equipment, often proved uncompetitive and did not generate the anticipated revenue.

It must be added that a considerable proportion of Western credits were consumed in the literal sense because they were used to buy food.

By the late seventies and early eighties the CEMA countries' foreign debt in hard currencies had snowballed, and some of those countries, particularly Poland, Romania, and Cuba, began to experience grave financial difficulties and were effectively on the verge of bankruptcy. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the international situation deteriorated sharply at that time and the West tried to worsen the socialist countries' economic difficulties by discriminatory measures such as various sanctions, embargoes, and so forth. They also affected the credit sphere: In 1981-1982 there was a sharp reduction in the amount of credit for the fraternal countries and the credit terms became harsher. Matters reached the point of recalling deposits from some socialist countries' banks, in other words, the socialist community was subjected to a credit blockade.

Unlawful actions of this kind were bound to have a ruinous effect on the economies of those countries, which were in a particularly difficult position. For example, Polish specialists estimate that the total damage caused to the country by the West's discriminatory measures was $12-$15 billion. It is a well-known fact that at the beginning of the eighties approximately one-half of Poland's industrial capacity stood idle for want of raw materials and spares bought with hard currency as well as for other reasons. There was another adverse consequence of the unwise passion for Western credits in the seventies—namely the raw material and technological dependence of a number of industrial sectors, particularly the chemical industry, on supplies from capitalist countries. When the granting of credits stopped and exports fell as a result of the state of crisis in the economy, there was no currency needed to buy those goods, and this caused many enterprises and entire sectors to suffer.

At that very moment, in the early eighties, Western propaganda spoke with particular persistence about the socialist countries' insolvency and financial bankruptcy. The "umbrella" theory was circulated, according to which the USSR, with its natural and gold reserves, would assume the role of guarantor of its CEMA partners. Of course, during the period of difficulties connected with the Polish crisis and the complex situation in a number of other countries, the USSR did give them the necessary economic assistance in the most diverse forms, including loans in foreign currency, rescheduling debt payments, extra deliveries of energy resources, and so forth. Incidentally, the other fraternal countries gave Poland as much help as they could, too. However, there was no question of a "credit umbrella" then, nor can there be one now. Each socialist country, as a sovereign state, pursues an independent credit policy and bears full responsibility for its own commitments. At the same time, some coordination of credit policy in dealings with the West is undoubtedly necessary, because in extreme circumstances, such as existed in Poland in the early eighties, a certain risk is also run by the socialist community partners, who do not leave one another in the lurch. But this applies only to really extreme circumstances.

The bourgeois prophets of the socialist countries' financial bankruptcy in the early eighties were wrong. The socialist countries at that time showed their ability to control their foreign debt and reduced it by 10 billion dollars between 1981 and 1984. This was achieved by efforts to expand exports but mainly by drastically reducing imports. For example, during that period Poland's imports from the West were reduced by a factor of 1.5 and Romania's by a factor of more than 2. This is not the optimum method, of course, but it made it possible to achieve a favorable balance of trade with the capitalist countries and reduce the foreign debt. Agreement was reached with Western creditors to reschedule payments and refinance part of the debts with new loans. The range of sources of foreign loans in convertible currency was expanded and there was an increase in the proportion of loans from banks in Japan and oil-exporting Arab countries, which had a substantial reserve of petrodollars. The forms of attracting credit became more varied and, in particular, bonds began to be issued and mixed "East-West banks" appeared.

During the eighties a number of CEMA members joined the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD]. Romania, which joined the IMF and the IBRD back in the seventies, was followed in 1982 by Hungary and in 1985 by Poland. This opened up a major source of foreign borrowing on favorable terms—long-term credits at low interest rates.

Relations between the socialist countries which joined the IMF and the IBRD and those organizations were not without problems. Experience showed that for countries with a healthy and successfully developing economy membership has a positive influence on the national economy. But when serious economic and payment difficulties arise, the other side of the coin can be seen in the form of efforts by the IMF and the IBRD to dictate an economic policy which is not always compatible with our socialist principles.

The unfavorable world economic situation of the mid-eighties could not but weaken the socialist countries' payment positions. Nevertheless, there is a certain amount of confidence that the regrettable events of the early eighties will not recur. The fraternal countries have learned certain lessons from the negative development of the seventies. Everyone understands now that Western credits cannot be the main motive force of the socialist economy and cannot by themselves ensure the community countries' social and economic progress. They can only be used to supplement their own efforts and those of integration—and then on condition that they ensure the efficient use of borrowed resources.

The foreign debt problem is not easy, there are no simple solutions here. For example, there is no economic need to repay the whole debt immediately—in the next few years—regardless of the price: This merely places an excessive burden on the economy and exhausts its resources with adverse social consequences. The price of

settling one's debts "in full" for reasons of prestige is too high. The overwhelming majority of the world's countries, including the most developed ones, have a foreign debt: The main task is to ensure that the debt is controllable, thus ensuring a healthy economy.

The idea of refusing to pay debts owed to the capitalist countries has its appeal but is impracticable. It would lead inevitably to the disruption of the whole system of East-West economic relations and would not be in accordance with the principle of the mutually beneficial nature of cooperation. The new political thinking demands that account be taken of the partners' interests as a precondition for the realization of one's own interests. A just solution of the debt problem, which has become one of the most serious world economic problems, is possible only if account is taken of the legitimate interests of all participants in international economic cooperation.

The economic reforms that are being implemented in the fraternal countries are aimed at creating an economic mechanism adequate for the intensive type of socioeconomic development. They fundamentally change the internal economic climate, the role of import and export, and foreign financial resources in the economy. There are no more "giveaway" imports, no more foreign currency falling from heaven: Everything has to be paid for with one's own money, from the enterprises' economically accountable revenue. The inefficient use of foreign resources turns into a direct outflow of foreign currency funds and incentive funds and thus of wages. Wastefulness hits your own pocket, not the state's, and is economically intolerable.

The transfer to the intensive type of economy creates vital preconditions for the efficient use of Western credits in the interests of acceleration. The question is not whether to borrow credits or not. Because the socialist countries are buying and will go on buying manufacturing equipment in the West, they can make use of the exporter's credits to pay for it, which is in keeping with world practice. Not to use credits but to buy equipment for cash so as to avoid paying interest or prevent the debt from growing is an irrational solution economically speaking, although this has sometimes been done because of unfavorable interest rates. But this solution was always enforced, because paying in cash means losing the main advantage of credit—the gaining of time connected with deferring payment. And time today is perhaps the most important factor and, furthermore, a nonrenewable resource. Consequently, credits can and must be used, but in such a way as to ensure their efficient use and prompt repayment so as to prevent an excessive burden of debt and interest repayments, in other words, to prevent these payments from consuming more than a certain proportion—10-15%, say—of the export currency revenue.

The socialist countries advocate the development of economic cooperation with the West on the broadest scale and in the most diverse forms, and that must also include currency and credit relations.

SRV Vice Premier Interviewed on CEMA

PM281521 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Oct 87 p 3

[Interview with Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, by own correspondent An. Balebanov: "Along the Path of October"; date and place of interview not specified;first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, headed the SRV delegation at the 43d (Extraordinary) meeting of the CEMA Session, which finished recently in Moscow. *Selskaya Zhizn* correspondent An. Balebanov met with him and asked him to answer the editorial board's questions.

[Balebanov] Comrade Vo Van Kiet, what are your impressions of the session and what, in your opinion, made it necessary to convene it?

[Vo Van Kiet] The work of the session took place in a constructive spirit and a businesslike manner. Its participants were unanimous that the cooperation among fraternal countries cannot develop further in the old rut. New forms and methods of economic collaboration are necessary for it to move consistently forward. And this can only be implemented by radically restructuring the integration mechanism. It is necessary to remove everything impeding the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. This program, which is revolutionary, cannot be implemented by old methods.

[Balebanov] What significance do the documents adopted at the session have for Vietnam's economic development?

[Vo Van Kiet] In accordance with the decisions of the session, special comprehensive programs for multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA countries and our country, and also Cuba and Mongolia, will be elaborated for the first time in CEMA practice. These documents are of great importance for us. They will enable us to coordinate joint efforts better and link the assistance provided more closely with the resolution of the socioeconomic tasks facing Vietnam with regard to boosting the national economy, expanding export potential, and participating in the international socialist division of labor. It is effectively a question of bringing cooperation between CEMA countries and the SRV to a new level, although a great deal has been achieved and we say this with pride. Thus in the last 30 years more than 300 projects in various sectors of the national economy have been constructed with fraternal assistance from the socialist community countries, more than 200 of them due to the Soviet Union.

[Balebanov] The CEMA session took place on the eve of the 70th anniversary of Great October. How are Vietnam's working people greeting this jubilee?

[Vo Van Kiet] Indeed, the time of the session coincided with the eve of the 1917 October Revolution. This is profoundly symbolic. Embodying the ideas of Great October in their fraternal unity, the CEMA countries have become the most uniformly and dynamically developing region of the world. Therefore, the years 1917 and 1949 (the year of the creation of CEMA) are closely linked by historical logic.

The 70th anniversary of the October Revolution is a common holiday for all the community countries. Socialist competition in connection with the anniversary of October, additional pledges, pre-October vigils—this is how not only Vietnam's working people, but also those of other fraternal states are marking this glorious date. Conferences, exhibitions, international meetings of the representatives of party and social organizations at all levels, and measures within the framework of administrative provinces, regions, cities, enterprises, and educational establishments which maintain direct friendly ties with Soviet colleagues are under way.

We are well aware of the indissoluble link between our achievements in all spheres of social life and the ideas of October and the general principles of socialist building laid down by October and first implemented in the Soviet Union—the first socialist country in the world.

Pyadyshev Holds News Conference 29 Oct

Discussions With Pact

LD291332 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—The problem of ending the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race, reduction of armaments and armed forces in Europe, and the strengthening of European and universal security dominate the agenda of the meeting in Prague of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of Warsaw Treaty member states, a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today was told by Spokesman Boris Pyadyshev.

"The Soviet leadership", the first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate went on, "found it necessary to submit questions of reducing missiles for consideration by the present meeting because the missile issues being discussed in the course of the Soviet-American dialogue most directly concern the security of our European allies, including the GDR and Czechoslovak".

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the course pursued by the Soviet Union in questions of arms limitation and reduction reflects the collective views of the allied states and is an agreed-upon course of the Warsaw Treaty countries. "Our friends know about each step we take. This common course is coordinated at various levels—at the very top and on the working ones", Boris Pyadyshev went on.

He added that a meeting between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of allied socialist countries would be held within the framework of celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Preparations for Summit

LD291341 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—"The Soviet foreign minister's brief, but very intensive working visit to Washington pursues two goals: To convey Mikhail Gorbachev's message to President Ronald Reagan and continue talks with the President and the secretary of state of the United States on key issues of Soviet-American relations," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said that the talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and the American leadership were expected to cover two major areas.

"One can assume logically that intensive discussion will be continued of practical aspects of limiting and reducing nuclear arms of various classes.

At the same time, there is a need and there are practical possibilities for discussing already now new stages in the further development of Soviet-American dialogue," Pyadyshev said.

"Completing the drafting of the INF agreement will be in the focus of attention at the forthcoming Washington talks. This work can be completed within two-three weeks, and one week has already passed.

Hence the need for fast action, hence the promptness with which the Soviet leadership decided to send the foreign minister to Washington."

Along with the INF issue, it is important to start necessary preparatory work in Washington so that productive discussion be held at the forthcoming summit later this year on issues of halving strategic offensive arms and the question of retaining the ABM Treaty," Pyadyshev pointed out.

'Intermediate Variant'

LD291414 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—The proposal put forward by the USSR at the Soviet-American talks in Moscow as regards the allocation of warheads by the three kinds of strategic offensive weapons will enable the sides not necessarily have an equal number of warheads by each type of strategic offensive weapons, the briefing was told here today by Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. [sentence as received] The sides, he continued, may have an opportunity to make for their lag in one type of delivery vehicles at the expense of delivery vehciles of another type. Herein lies the advantage of the Soviet approach to this subject. The Soviet proposals, unlike the American ones, do not force on any side the need for changing the structure of its strategic force.

We are convinced, the spokesman for the Foreign Ministry stressed, that already in the first half of the next year it will be quite possible to draw up an agreement on a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons, certainly, in conditions of preservation of the ABM Treaty. Meanwhile, now at the current Washington talks and the forthcoming summit meeting this year it would be possible to attend to drawing up an intermediate variant in the form of key provisions or in the form of directives for the Soviet and American delegations at the Geneva talks.

Stand on Summit Meeting

LD291427 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—"The USSR's stand on the summit meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S.

President Ronald Reagan is consistent and invariable," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

"This stand has always been as follows: The summit should compromise the signing of an agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles and a serious exchange of views on other issues, above all those related to strategic offensive arms and measures to strengthen the ABM Treaty," Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said.

"Both the Soviet and the American sides have carried out intensive work lately, specifically since the completion of the Soviet-American meeting in Moscow at foreign ministers' level.

This work has made it possible to advance the Soviet-American dialogue," he said. "Both the Soviet and the American stands are being updated.

The discussion of the problem of strategic offensive arms at the summit may have, of course, a varying degree of intensity and bring about various results. We would consider this discussion successful should an interim agreement be worked out in the form of key provisions, or directives for the delegations from the Soviet Union and the United States as Geneva," Pyadyshev said.

"As of today, we have the impression that the American leadership is prepared for the discussion of issues of strategic arms and measures for retaining and strengthening the ABM Treaty at the forthcoming summit meeting due this year," said the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman.

AFP Reports Prospects

AU291343 Paris AFP in English 1334 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, Oct 29 (AFP)—The United States and Soviet Union have reached agreement to hold a summit by the end of this year, at which a treaty eliminating medium-range missiles would be signed and an "exchange of views" held on strategic arms cuts and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, a Soviet spokesman said here Thursday.

Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Boris Pyadyshev, asked whether the Soviet Union was still insisting that "key provisions" on strategic arms and the ABM Treaty were worked out before the summit, said: "we would view it as successful and productive" if "interim provisions or guidelines" could be sent to Geneva negotiators.

Asked whether a summit date would be fixed during a Washington visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze for talks Friday and Saturday, the spokesman said: "I do not rule out this possibility."

The move appeared to mark a concession by the Soviet side, although Mr. Pyadyshev said that Washington was now prepared to "take up the issue of strategic arms" and the ABM Treaty at the summit.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan has previously stressed that his Strategic Defence Initiative, which according to the Russians is limited by the ABM Treaty, is not negotiable.

The spokesman said that because of "lack of time", the Soviet and U.S. sides had been unable to complete their talks last week in Moscow, when U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev failed to agree on a summit date, with Mr. Gorbachev expressing dissatisfaction at progress on the ABM issue and related SDI issues.

Discusses Emigrants

LD291434 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—"A number of people living in Israel have asked the Soviet mission to the United Nations in New York to allow the Dashevskiy family and the Brussovani family with children to leave the Soviet Union," Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today,

"The directorate has the information that there are no objections to Dashevskiy's exit from the USSR. That he has not left so far is due to complicated relations within the family: the parents of Dashevskiy's wife have claims of a material character.

As to the Brussovani family, the husband and wife and their children were allowed to leave the Soviet Union," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Addresses Verification

LD291445 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—In the West they have long claimed that the USSR and other socialist countries "do not have a taste for" verification and inspection issues, "But as soon as we have taken the initiative and made specific proposals on this score, it has turned out that Western states are not prepared for an extensive verification and inspection system", a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Spokesman Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of the ministry's Informtion Directorate, added at a briefing:

"As far as the USSR is concerned, we have already been tested for integrity and consistency with regard to compliance with the Stockholm accords.

"NATO representatives have conducted inspections in the Belorussian Military District and the Pentagon, for example, has been perfectly satisfied with their results. Inspections have been carried out also in the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

"We are currently raising the issue of our military inspectors being allowed into Western states. The Soviet Government, for instance, asked permission from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on October 26 for an inspection of military activities in West German territory.

"The request was met and on Wednesday a group of Soviet military inspectors arrived in the FRG. After returning home our representatives will draw up a relevant report which will evaluate the conditions in which they have had to work," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

IZVESTIYA Reviews Pyadyshev on Arms Talks

PM281811 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Kuvshinnikov report from USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center: "There Are No Grounds for Pessimism"]

[Text] "E.A. Shevardnadze: Speaking about the results of your visit to Moscow in general, we regard them as substantive, fruitful, and very useful for Soviet-U.S. relations.

"G. Shultz: I agree with you on this."

These are the words, cited from the stenographic record, with which the last conversation between the two ministers ended last Friday. However, a considerable measure of pessimism is present in foreign utterances about the results of the Moscow talks. It is claimed that they are disappointing and do not justify the hopes which were pinned to the talks as regards the further dynamic development of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

We cannot agree with these utterances, B. Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate , stressed at the latest briefing. Take the question of the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, for instance. Here the sides took reciprocal steps to meet each other half-way. The Soviet side gave 17 answers to the 17 questions which were submitted by the U.S. side in the sphere of verification and most of them were accepted.

According to the United States, one of the difficulties of verification consists in the similarity between the Soviet medium-range SS-20 missiles and the SS-25 ICBM's. On this basis the U.S. side raised the question of access for its inspectors to the to the SS-25 deployment areas in order to establish that there are no missiles which are subject to elimination alongside the big missiles. This proposition is devoid of all military logic. Nonetheless, the U.S. side was presented with pictures and drawings of both missiles which prove incontrovertibly that the differences between them can be established with the aid of national means of verification. Incidentally, they are obvious even to nonspecialists.

This shows that the work in this sphere is proceeding very vigorously and productively, B. Pyadyshev emphasized. Its completion will need no more than 2-3 weeks of which the first is already ending. I have no doubt that an agreement on medium-range missiles will be signed, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, and it is being prepared for signing at the highest level.

Nor can the discussion, which took place in the course of the Moscow talks, on the propects for progress toward a radical reduction of strategic offensive arms be regarded as fruitless or disappointing. Far-reaching Soviet compromise proposals which make provision for the establishment of subceilings for every element of the strategic triad were received as a sensation here. True, R. Lehman, head of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks on strategic offensive arms, hastened to state that the subceiling for submarine ballistic missile warheads is unacceptable to the United States since it stipulates the reduction of this element of the U.S. strategic forces not just by one-half but as much as two-thirds.

Commenting on this statement, B. Pyadyshev noted that our compromise option is based on the U.S. approach and the figures cited are in general close to those suggested by the U.S. side. There can be no question of any decisive bias to the detriment of U.S. strategic arsenals.

Nazarkin Addresses Chemical Weapons at UN

LD290920 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] New York October 29 TASS—Soviet representative Yu.K. Nazarkin has described the earliest possible conclusion of an international convention to ban and eliminate chemical weapons as one of his country's priority goals in the field of disarmament.

He was speaking in the U.N. General Assembly's first (disarmament and related international security issues) committee.

Seeking to facilitate that in every way, the USSR, Nazarkin said, had made a series of major initiatives on the key issues of talks under way at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva.

He said it had been guided by a realistic view of the progress of the talks and an unbiassed and respectful attitude to the positions of the other negotiators.

That was, he added, a new political thinking based on the unity of words and deeds, of policy statements and negotating positions.

As the talks had now entered the final phase, the USSR had taken a number of important decisions and was in the process of implementing them. Nazarkin said, explaining that the Soviet Union had terminated the production of chemical weapons and was fast building a special facility to destroy them.

The Soviet representative also said that the demonstration of samples of the Soviet chemical munitions and technology for destroying chemical warfare agents, which had been organized for participants in the Disarmament Conference at a military facility in Shikhany, had been, as had been widely agreed at the General Assembly, a serious confidence-building measure helping to further progress at the talks.

Nazarkin contrasted the Soviet gesture to plans by some states to launch the manufacture of binary munitions—a new-generation chemical weapon—which, he said, could not but arouse grave concern and doubt about the sincerity of claims by those countries of seeking to finalize the convention.

The Soviet representative suggested that the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly call for taking no steps that could complicate the attainment of agreement at the talks.

Supreme Soviet Group Meets Perez de Cuellar
LD272238 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies met at UN Headquarters with UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar. They examined questions on the increase of the UN's role and its effectiveness in solving current basic problems. The Soviet parliamentarians, as members of the USSR delegation, are participating for the first time in the work of the UN General Assembly.

Perez de Cuellar Meets Soviet Peace Group
LD271544 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 27 Oct 87

[Text] New York October 27 TASS—U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar received a delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee on Monday. The leader of the delegation, Genrikh Borovik, the committee's chairman, delivered to him a report on the committee's activities, and informed him of the paricipation of the Soviet public in the work for peace and disarmament, and of its intention to continue to develop and strengthen cooperation with the United Nations organization.

"The striving of Soviet peace campaigners to express their anti-war sentiments in new forms and to give greater scope to their activites became a distinguishing feature of this year", he pointed out.

"The Soviet Union's bold, far-reaching proposals in the field of disarmament, which meet the aspirations of Soviet people and of the whole of mankind and which open up a prospect for complete elimination of nuclear arms by the turn of the century, became an important impulse to this process". "Soviet people also actively participate in the current week of action for disarmament. The action week began with the global 'peace wave'. Peace-wave activities took place in hundreds of cities and towns in the Soviet Union".

"A substantial upsurge of anti-war action by public forces became a reflection of the process of further deepening and broadening democracy and raising the social and political activity of Soviet people".

"The anti-war activities of the Soviet public have been carried out in 1987 under the watchword of the forthcoming 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of Lenin's Decree of Peace, the first state act of the Land of the Soviets".

Perez de Cuellar, for his part, pointed out the increased participation of non-governmental organizations in support of U.S. activities in the fight for peace, and in this connection highly appreciated the Soviet Peace Committee's activities within the framework of the world-wide campaign for disarmament.

Among to most successful and mass actions of the recent time he singled out the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee and of the American "Great Peace March" organization to carry out the unprecedented global "peace wave" action which swept the globe on the United Nations Day, October 24.

Petrovskiy on UNGA Debate, UN Military Role
PM281019 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "United Nations: Results of the Debate"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction; date of interview not given]

[Text] New York—The general political debate has ended at the 42d UN General Assembly [UNGA] session. Representatives—including presidents and premiers—of virtually every UN member country delivered speeches. Our correspondent asked V.F. Petrovskiy, deputy head of the Soviet delegation at the session and USSR deputy foreign minister, to sum up the results of the debate.

[Shalnev] What was the main, most striking feature of the debate?

[Petrovskiy] First of all, I believe I can quite rightly say that the exchange of opinions was distinguished by its positive, constructive tone, with the exception of just one speech—that of the United States. Everyone else

spoke in the spirit of the need to switch from confrontation to political constructivism and joint action. This trend was clearly connected with the fact that, as a result of the Soviet-U.S. accords in Washington, a real opportunity has emerged to cross the Rubicon beyond which the prospect of building a nuclear-free world this century opens up. Although perhaps not everyone said so directly, it is quite obvious that these positive changes are linked with Moscow's activity.

A completely new trend also came to light during the debate. States—large and small, socialist and nonaligned, and even the overwhelming majority of Western states—are convinced that we must take all problems to international forums. But the United States resembled the soldier who believes that he alone is in step while all the rest are not. The United States is the only country that is guided by its own narrowly selfish interests in today's interdependent world. It was the only country to read a lecture at the session and try to teach the United Nations how it should behave.

[Shalnev] I noticed, incidentally, that the Americans were also on their own in something else: Their delegation was the only one to leave the hall in protest at certain speeches.

[Petrovskiy] Yes. They often say that glasnost and openness are needed. But glasnost and openness are impossible without dialogue. The Nicaraguan president was speaking. You would think they would want to hear his point of view. But no, the Americans left their seats and made an ostentatious exit. This is very typical of them—there is a great difference between what they say and what they do.

[Shalnev] If you were to sum up not only the public reaction but also the reaction behind the scenes, so to speak, to the proposals contained in M.S. Gorbachev's recent article and E.A. Shevardnadze's speech at the session, how would you assess it?

[Petrovskiy] I have no fear of being accused of exaggeration when I say that people's attitudes have been quite clearly positive. First, these proposals are seen as containing very rich food for thought. They offer an answer not only to the question of what must be done but also to that of how it must be done to restructure the world on democratic, humanist principles and direct the development of international relations toward eliminating the nuclear threat and building a world free from nuclear weapons. The style of address in M.S. Gorbachev's article also appealed to delegates. In putting forward his proposals, the Soviet leader does not say that this is the ultimate truth. On the contrary, he suggests them as a subject for discussion. And this impresses the international community.

[Shalnev] If we could be more specific: Our minister's speech and then your own at a press conference here spoke of stepping up the military role of the United Nations and activating its military institutions, particularly the Military Staff Committee. I would like to ask two questions: What is the reasoning behind this proposal, and how can you explain the fact that the U.S. mass media have made no mention of it?

[Petrovskiy] This proposal is vital in the context of our current efforts with all other members of the Security Council, permanent and nonpermanent, to end the Iran-Iraq conflict and normalize the situation in the Persian Gulf region. Expressing our concern at the unprecedented increase in the naval presence in the Gulf, we have proposed that this situation be taken up by the Military Staff Committee. The Military Staff Committee exists under the UN Charter...

[Shalnev] But does it operate?

[Petrovskiy] It operates formally. But what does this involve? Every couple of weeks the representatives of the Military Staff Committee meet—usually generals and admirals, although some countries send colonels—just to approve the agenda and then they go their separate ways. But why not use this instrument? Especially as the UN Charter provides for chiefs of General Staff to take part in the Military Staff Committee sessions. Probably the most appropriate course of action would be for chiefs of General Staff with the necessary information at their fingertips to meet in order to assess the situation from a military viewpoint and then report back to the Security Council and submit recommendations. Why is this proposal not being mentioned? This is a serious question. I asked one influential U.S. journalist about this. He said more or less that, for all the journalistic freedom in the U.S. press, there are certain politically prescribed areas. It is probably because of this and political programming that our important proposal is still unknown to broad strata of the population here.

[Shalnev] The last question. The general political debate is over. What next?

[Petrovskiy] Heavy but very important work is the next stage. Attempts are being made to translate what was stated during the debate into specific recommendations.

[Shalnev] Tell me, is there reason to hope that these recommendations will be put into practice?

[Petrovskiy] This will depend on how responsibly states treat the world community. In our age, when there can be no alternative to a unique forum like the United Nations, its decisions must be taken into consideration. They reflect world public opinion.

World Peace Council Declaration Reported

LD272156 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 27 Oct 87

[Text] Canberra October 27 TASS—Follows the text of the Auckland declaration adopted at the meeting of the board of the World Peace Council.

We send this call from New Zealand, a country whose people have taken a courageous stand to reject nuclear weapons from their territory.

The position of the New Zealand people, reflected in the official decisions of the government and the parliament, is another manifestation of the fact that the vast majority of the world community stands against nuclear arms as means of solution of international conflicts. Therefore the task of the total and comprehensive elimination of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war remains the urgent life and death question for the future of all humankind.

Being convinced that both international and national security cannot be ensured with nuclear arms, the World Peace Council welcomes the USSR/U.S. agreement on the total liquidation of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. If the agreement is signed, ratified and implemented by both sides this will signify the first real practical step towards nuclear disarmament.

The historic importance of the forthcoming agreement lies in the fact that it creates a new international situation characterized by the turn away from the arms race to arms reduction which must lead to the total elimination of nuclear weapons. This gives new confidence and greater strength to peace and anti-war movements all over the world in their struggle for disarmament and a nuclear-weapons free world proving that it is not a utopian ideal.

There is no doubt that the possibility of the global double zero agreement has been greatly assisted by the unprecedented raising of mass, anti-nuclear consciousness, to the creation and strengthening of which ever expanding and growingly united peace movements and organizations have being dynamically contributing. It is clear therefore, that the international peace movement, taking as the first priority the elimination of nuclear arms, will ceaselessly intensify its endeavours to ensure that the agreement will be immediately followed by concrete measures on the reduction of strategic nuclear arms and the prohibition of space weaponry, a nuclear test ban, the elimination of chemical weapons and radical reduction in conventional arms and armed forces.

At this crucial historic moment new hopes and new perspectives for a secure future open before the world. However, forces advocating the doctrine of nuclear deterrence even now try to obstruct the elimination of nuclear arms. Attempts are also made to use arms reduction as an excuse for the acceleration of the arms build-up in other fields, particularly in space weaponry, tactical-nuclear and conventional arms.

Radical cuts in military expenditure will release vast resources which must be directed towards a solution of the acute economic, social, ecological and other problems which beset humanity today. Disarmament should be organically linked with development.

In the creation of a comprehensive system of international security and in the establishment of a new economic order a more effective and greater role should be played by the United Nations. The World Peace Council expresses its support for the activities of the U.N. in this direction. Obviously the destiny of the people should not be left solely in the hands of governments. Therefore, ever more energetic and concerted actions by ever-broader mass peace movements are necessary today.

The World Peace Council reconfirms its strong devotion to dialogue, mutual understanding and cooperation between various peace forces for the achievement of the common goal of survival of humanity and expresses its conviction that all national organizations will act in this direction.

IZVESTIYA Views World Stock Market Crisis

PM281149 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by Candidates of Economic Sciences V. Korolev and Ye. Myagkov, Gosbank officials, under the rubric "Specialist Opinion": "Symptoms of a Crisis"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Events on the New York Stock Exchange have reverberated in many countries. Candidates of Economic Sciences V. Korolev and Ye. Myagkov, USSR Gosbank officials, comment on them for *Izvestiya* readers.

Many Western economists see parallels between the recent events on stock markets in the United States and other countries and the crash of 1929, which marked the start of the 1929-1933 overproduction crisis—known as the "Great Depression"—the deepest and, in terms of its consequences, most destructive world economic crisis ever. Of course, since then capitalism has undergone substantive changes. To a considerable extent the existing system of state monopoly regulation of the economy softens the most destructive crisis phenomena. But nonetheless, such parallels are not groundless.

In those far-off years nothing foreshadowed such terrible convulsions: The economy was booming and the market was gripped by a euphoria brought about by the record rise in stocks.

The economies of the United States and the other leading capitalist countries are currently experiencing the longest postwar economic boom, whose pace, however, has fallen sharply of late. Its motive force is the restructuring of the economy on the basis of the introduction of the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, along with the government policy of deficit financing, which envisages the artificial stimulation of the economy at the cost of a deterioration in

state finances. A considerable proportion of state spending is nonproductive and linked with militarist programs. This is seen particularly clearly in the United States.

At the same time, the conservative governments in power in the leading capitalist countries have been pursuing a "liberal" economic policy. Within the framework of this policy state intervention in various economic spheres has been gradually curtailed and the conditions created for total freedom of action by the monopolies. The inevitable consequence of this course was a growth in speculative activity, primarily on the stock market. Thus, between the start of 1982 and August this year stocks had risen by almost 250%. During this period U.S. GNP had only increased by 42%, which attests to the colossal disparity between the growth in fictional capital and real economic processes.

In the opinion of leading market specialists, under these conditions there are inevitably periods when the proportions between speculatively high share values and objective indicators of economic development are spontaneously restored. This is precisely what has been happening recently.

The stock slide was directly triggered by a number of reports of unfavorable symptoms in the U.S. economy and the growing contradictions in the world capitalist economy, which shook investors' faith in the U.S. Administration's optimistic economic forecasts. Indeed, all attempts to reduce the enormous U.S. trade deficit, including pressure on trade partners, have still failed to produce any visible results. The astronomical state budget deficit remains at a high level. Signs have appeared of another spurt in inflation and a hike in interest rates, which are dampening already sluggish growth. The developing countries' foreign debt problem, which ultimately has a negative impact on the economies of the industrially developed states by reducing the market for their products and weakening the position of the banks, remains unresolved.

Although in the last few days the situation on the markets has stabilized somewhat (according to the latest figures, the index rose by 290 points on Tuesday and Wednesday, and fell again by 77 points on Thursday—editor's note), the major scale of the current stock slide attests to the capitalist economy's increasing instability and the possible deterioration of the economic outlook in the future. Not for nothing have many Western economists been reviewing what had until recently been their forecasts for economic development, and started talking about an imminent crisis.

Ponomarev Derides Cocom Objectives

PM271355 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Oct 87 First Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev article under the rubric "International Observer Replies to Reader": "Truth and Lies About Cocom"]

[Text] Major V. Ossovskiy writes us:

"References to the so-called Cocom are encountered from time to time in the press. It was recently reported once again that during regular Japanese-U.S. consultations the United States demanded that the restrictions imposed by Cocom on trade with socialist countries be made even tougher. A number of questions arise in this connection. Is it true that this organization's activity seriously affects the USSR's possibility of purchasing complex equipment from the West and gaining access to the latest achievements in this sphere? Are we ourselves really not capable of resolving complex technical tasks?"

Krasnaya Zvezda Observer Manki Ponomarev replies to Maj V. Ossovskiy.

The Coordinating Committee for Controlling Exports to Socialist Countries—Cocom—was set up, Comrade Ossovskiy, at the insistence of the United States as long ago as 1949, at the very height of the cold war, and still bears its clear imprint. It now embraces almost all the NATO states (except Iceland) and also Japan. The Western press reports that Cocom's functions include prohibiting the sale to socialist countries of equipment and technologies which, in the opinion of the committee's bosses, are of a "defense nature" or could have a "dual purpose," that is, be used in both the military and the civilian sectors of industry. Cocom's entire activity is shrouded in deep secrecy. The periodically updated lists of goods whose export is prohibited are kept in strict secrecy.

The prohibitions and restrictions imposed by the committee in accordance, above all, with the U.S. confrontational policy have an obvious purpose.. They pursue the aim of isolating socialist states in the sphere of international trade, putting them in an unequal position, depriving them of access to the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and damaging their economies.

Western propaganda tries to prove that Cocom's entire activity is aimed only at parrying the "Soviet military threat" by preventing the USSR and its allies from building up their military potential at the West's expense. But such claims constitute demagoguery of the first order. This was clearly shown, in particular, by the notorious "Toshiba affair." I will remind you of its essence.

Some time ago the Pentagon informed Tokyo that the Japanese machine-building company Toshiba Kikai had supposedly violated Cocom's rules by supplying the Soviet Union with four program-controlled milling machines. Thanks to those deliveries, the U.S. Defense Department claimed, the USSR was able to organize production of submarine screws which produce considerably reduced noise in operation. As a result, the U.S. SOSUS [name as published] submarine detection system based on hydroacoustic principles loses its efficiency.

It was in this spirit that the "Toshiba affair" was served up by Western propaganda. But what was it all about in reality?

Yes, the Soviet Union did buy from Toshiba Kikai several machine tools produced by the firm—some of whose electronic equipment was supplied, incidentally, by the Norwegian Kongsberg Company. Yes, there really has been a reduction in noise from Soviet nuclear-powered submarines in recent years. These are facts. But whether they have any connection with each other is another matter. It turns out that they do not.

The Toshiba Kikai machine tools were installed at Soviet enterprises some time near the end of 1984. Yet a Japanese military expert consulted by the U.S. *Christian Science Monitor* newspaper reckons that the lower-noise-level Soviet submarines made their appearance back in 1980. The newspaper also cites U.S. military experts who make no secret of the fact that, in their view, it was not the Toshiba machine tools but improvements introduced by Soviet specialists which led to the lower noise levels on Soviet submarines. Incidentally, such authoritative sources as the British annual publication "*Jane's Fighting Ships (1985-1986)*" and the handbook about the USSR Navy, "*Guide to the Soviet Navy (1986)*," which is published by the U.S. Naval Institute, indicate that the Soviet submarines with the lower noise levels appeared in the period from 1981 through mid-1984.

The organizers of the "Toshiba affair" were, of course, aware of this. They were aware of it, but nonetheless they raised a tremendous ruckus over the matter. Why? What aim were they pursuing?

There were several aims, in fact. Above all, they were trying to attribute the improvement of the Soviet Navy to the fact that it was drawing on foreign, Western equipment which had allegedly far outstripped Soviet equipment, rather than to the improved standard of shipbuilding in the USSR. What can one say on this account? Of late, in the conditions of glasnost, we ourselves have begun to sharply criticize our shortcomings and omissions in the sphere of production intensification on the basis of new technologies. However, this does not mean that there has been no progress. Here is the opinion of the world-famous Hungarian economist, Academician M. Simai, expressed in an interview with *New Times* magazine: "There is one very important sphere where the dynamics of the development of new technologies have been high. This is the defense industry. Some Western research workers regard it as the sphere where the Soviet Union competes with the West on equal terms."

Furthermore, when during his visit to the Northern Fleet M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was acquainting himself with the combat hardware designed to guard our peaceful borders, the following remark was made during the inspection: "The potential enemy does not possess any submarines of this kind." This fact speaks for itself.

This bears out that Cocom has failed to achieve its publicly expressed aim of weakening the Soviet military potential. Attempts to condemn Soviet industry to lagging behind the achievements of the West have also failed. I am able to state that, according to the admission of the U.S. weekly *U.S. News and World Report*, U.S. companies have acquired 125 licenses in the USSR and East European countries over the past 10 years, including licenses pertaining to the sphere of electricity transmission, nonferrous metallurgy, welding, the medical industry, and so forth. Here are two very recent examples. Soviet specialists under the leadership of Academician A. Prokhorov have developed new-generation laser crystals with 4-5 times greater efficiency than their predecessors and made them available for industrial production in less than 1 year. Scientists at the Moscow motor engineering institute have developed a condenser starter system for gasoline and diesel motors which has no parallel in the world. The lead-zinc battery is redundant. The time taken to start a motor, irrespective of temperature, is no more than 0.2-0.3 seconds. The novelty of this system is reflected in the fact that it is protected by 15 patents.

Cocom's activities have certainly not managed to arrest the progress of Soviet engineering and technology. On the other hand, the committee itself and the people who are behind it have been shown up in a very unfavorable light. The U.S. newspaper *Newsday*, for instance, writes that, rather than exports to socialist countries, the target is "the policy of restructuring which is being implemented in the Soviet Union." Creating difficulties for this restructuring, hampering it, and restricting mutually advantageous economic contacts between the USSR and developed capitalist countries—these are the cherished plans of the zealous supporters of the so-called Cocom "rules" who want not just to toughen these rules but to take them to absolutely ridiculous lengths.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Visit 'By Joint Arrangement'

PM281517 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On the Forthcoming Visit to the United States by E.A. Shevardnadze"]

[Text] By joint arrangement [po sovmestnoy dogovorennosti] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, will pay a working visit to Washington 30-31 October to convey to U.S. President R. Reagan a message from CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and also to continue talks with the President and with the U.S. secretary of state on key issues of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Reagan West Point Speech Reported

LD282259 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1930 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Washington, 28 Oct (TASS)—U.S. President Reagan delivered a speech devoted to Soviet-U.S. relations at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point today. He stated that, in his view, the USSR and United States are approaching the conclusion of an agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles.

In the course of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz' talks in Moscow, Reagan noted, "important positive movement forward on the way to the conclusion of an agreement on medium-range missiles and progress in other areas took place. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will come to Washington on Friday to meet Secretary of State Shultz and myself and continue these discussions."

Touching on the subject of a summit meeting, Reagan stated that such meetings "can be useful for leaders and countries as an opportunity for frank [otkrovennyy] conversations and as a bridge to an improvement in relations." But a summit meeting, the President said, "is not a precondition for progress on the matters on the agenda".

On the subject of strategic arms, Reagan stated that "great progress has been reached on the way to an agreement on reducing strategic arsenals by half." At the same time, he stressed again that the United States will not renounce the "Strategic Defense Initiative", known as the "Star Wars" program, for anything.

As has been noted repeatedly by U.S. experts in the sphere of arms control [kontrol nad vooruzheniyami], among others, this program, which is aimed at putting strike weapons into space, will lead inevitably to an undermining of strategic staiblity in the world and will create a direct threat to the very existence of mankind.

Touching finally on regional conflicts, and the situation concerning Nicaragua in particular, Reagan stated that his administration will continue to provide support to the Nicaraguan contras, who are waging an undeclared war against the people of that Central American republic with military and other forms of aid from the United States.

Reagan, Weinberger Reaffirm SDI Support

LD281827 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Washington October 28 TASS—President Reagan once again declared in defence of his "Star Wars" programme which envisages the working out a large-scale ABM system with space-basing elements. "The Strategic Defence Initiative is the cornerstone of our national security policy, a top priority", the head of the White House said in a videotaped address to the participants of a conference of the conservative public organization, American Defense Preparedness Association. Contrary to logic, the head of the White House asserted that the creation of SDI will be "a major contribution to our goals of world peace and freedom".

In his turn, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger said at the conference that the administration will never allow the SDI to become a bargaining chip at the negotiations.

The Washington Post emphasizes that the White House is eager to deploy an ABM space system as soon as possible and as a result is rapidly losing time for the achievement of a strategic arms agreement.

The administration's dangerous designs for the militarisation of outer space cause profound concern of the public, of many politicians. Th Pentagon views the outer space as the main theatre of operation, Congressman George Brown writes in his article published in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*. He estimated that about 70 per cent of U.S. appropriations under the budget for space exploration in the recent years was controlled by the U.S. military department. The congressman said that during the rule of the Reagan administration the expenditures for the military space programme skyrocketed with their aggregate volume reaching nearly 80 billion dollars.

Assessing the impact of the U.S. programme of space militarisation on international relations, Brown emphasizes that that there will be no victor in the dangerous and extremely costly arms race in outer space, that it can be the cause of the crisis, might lead to nuclear war. In order to prevent such dangerous developments, G. Brown deems it necessary to spread the arms control to outer space, to consolidate the ABM treaty.

Pentagon Actions 'Cloud New Atmosphere'
LD290200 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Later in the week the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, begins a working visit to Washington. Here is a commentary from Radio Moscow's Vladislav Kozyakov:

The coming Soviet-American talks in Washington will follow similar talks in Moscow last week. These high-level contacts are designed to help the efforts of the two nations at the Geneva talks. The outlook is good for progress in the main field of arms control and arms reduction. The Moscow talks have considerably changed the situation. Steps taken by both sides have come close to finalizing an agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles. Everybody agrees the full text of the agreement can be worked out within a few weeks. Moreover, the Soviet side has put forward a series of proposals to solve the crucial problems of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement on cutting by half the strategic offensive weapons, and also adhering to the ABM Treaty.

When receiving Secretary of State Shultz in Moscow last week, the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev put forward concrete numbers of warheads on individual types of strategic offensive weapons. These figures stand very close to those put forward by the United States. The Soviet side has also assumed a flexible position on the ABM Treaty. Moscow insists the treaty that was signed and ratified should now be observed. At the same time it has been trying to meet Washington halfway by making its current approach more specific. Thus Moscow has suggested that the two sides determine the characteristics of instruments and systems that can be put in orbit. These initiatives open new prospects for working out key provisions of an accord on slashing strategic offensive weapons and upholding the ABM Treaty.

Regrettably, the Pentagon has been taking actions which seem specifically timed to cloud the new atmosphere at the talks created by the progress on medium- and shorter-range missiles and by the new Soviet concessions. It has tested cruise missiles in Canada, sent 16 more medium-range missiles to Britain, and is holding maneuvers of the Pershing missiles in West Germany, when they only wonder about the reasons for developing and testing nuclear weapons when an agreement on their elimination seems close at hand. People throughout the world are pinning high hopes on a new meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan planned for the end of this year. It is largely up to the United States whether or not these hopes come true. The initiatives set out by Moscow are calling for an answer from Washington.

U.S. To Send More Minesweepers to Gulf
LD281808 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] New York October 28 TASS—The United States took a decision to dispatch another five mine sweepers to the Persian Gulf area in the near future, reports the American AP News Agency, referring to the Pentagon representatives. Two first ships, AP points out, are ready to sail off now. Another three mine sweepers will follow them in a day or two.

When they reach the Gulf, AP notes, the total number of ships forming the U.S. naval flotilla massed in the Persian Gulf, will reach 40.

PRAVDA Reports on U.S. Trade Ban on Iran
PM281349 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent V. Gan report under the general heading "Urgent!": "The United States: White House Applies Pressure"]

[Text] The United States has decided to reinforce its military pressure on Iran with economic sanctions. President Reagan today announced the imposition of an embargo on trade with that country.

A ban is being imposed on all U.S. imports from Iran and on the supply to that country of 14 types of U.S. equipment which could be used for "military purposes." This applies, in particular, to Iranian purchases of communications equipment, tractors, launches, diesel engines, electric generators, and outboard motors. U.S. imports from Iran consist mainly of oil, which earned Teheran $1 billion in the first 7 months of this year alone.

The President cited Iran's "unprovoked attacks" on the U.S. Armed Forces and merchant ships in the Persian Gulf in justification of the embargo decision.

The White House chief's statement is remarkable not so much for what it contains as for what it omits. While providing evidence of the anti-Iranian hysteria on the banks of the Potomac, the document completely ignores the fact acknowledged even in the U.S. Congress that the concentration of the Pentagon's naval forces has considerably increased tension in the Persian Gulf.

Popov Examines U.S. Views of Soviet Policy
PM281000 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Oct 87 pp 14-15

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Nikolay Popov, senior scientific staffer at the Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States of America and Canada: "The Americans and Us"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. talks ended in Moscow last week. The results lead us to conclude that the path traveled from Geneva via Reykjavik to the present day offers the

prospect of concluding agreements leading to a substantial lessening of the universal nuclear danger. As M.S. Gorbachev said, only one thing is now necessary to achieve this: Not only Soviet, but also U.S. bulldozers must move toward each other, clearing the path. What is needed, in other words, is a new way of thinking in international affairs, new approaches in our mutual relations.

Doctor of Historical Sciences N. Popov, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States of America and Canada, discusses this in his article.

Nations cannot see themselves in a mirror. In evaluating themselves they are often the victims of their own imagination, and can only rarely, reluctantly and with difficulty, gain a self-critical understanding of how they look from the outside, especially as seen by their chief partners and rivals in international affairs. A lack of understanding of the other side, its motives, and the psychological roots of its intentions and actions is not infrequently as much of an obstacle to rapprochement as the actual conflicts of interests and differences of political systems and ideologies. These problems have been inherent in Soviet-U.S. relations from the first.

We decide on a bold political step, put forward far-reaching peace-loving proposals, and, naturally, wait for the applause. It does not come. America and Europe start looking for the double meaning, the hidden "Kremlin perfidiousness," the "propaganda move."

Whatever we do inside or outside the country, we watch carefully to see what the United States will say about it. The same happens there—consciously and subconsciously, they keep an eye on our reaction, our behavior. We are the main rival of the United States in the world. Not only because we pose a military threat to each other that is without precedent in history, not only because of the economic competition between the two socioeconomic systems. We compete for ideological and moral authority in the world. This rivalry will continue even if we manage at last to get rid of the nuclear threat, it will continue into the next century. That is how we pose a challenge to the Americans, who regard their country as the homeland of freedom and democracy, the laboratory of new ideas. Here our strongest foreign policy program is the restructuring inside the country, the development of democracy, the masses' creativity, and the whole potential of socialism.

We want people abroad, especially in the United States, to assess us positively or at least with respect, and we are grieved, offended, and indignant when it does not happen. But you have to look the truth in the face—many people there do not like us. It is incorrect and unrealistic to suggest that it is the U.S. ruling circles who spoil everything, while the mass of the people are in favor of detente, support the Soviet peace initiatives, trust us, and want rapprochement. Both high-ranking Americans and many ordinary people regard the Soviet Union critically and with distrust. On every point these relations are an alloy of the traditional U.S. ideas and values, the stereotypes created by the mass media at the politicians' prompting, and the critical reflection of our own actions and words, however correct they may seem to us. It is naive to suppose that all the criticisms of us result from the intrigues of right-wing forces.

In assessing our image abroad we forget that it is made up of everything—big things and small things, the present day and history, including things we would prefer to forget. In America every student knows N.S. Khrushchev's pithy phrase "we will bury you." Who in our country remembers it or even knows about it at all? Yet in America it is one of the cornerstones of their idea of "Soviet aggressiveness." However hard we try to explain that this phrase should be understood symbolically, from the historical viewpoint, in terms of the victory of one socioeconomic system over another, the promised "funeral" has sunk deep into the Americans' souls. We too will doubtless not soon forget the "evil empire," "the USSR's place is on the garbage heap of history," and other phrases that have gained currency in the Reagan era.

We interpret the past in our foreign policy as a succession of peace initiatives torpedoed by the West, especially the United States. But for the Americans our foreign policy over the last 4 decades is represented, naturally with the help of the press and textbooks, as a constant stream of military expansionist actions in which we either took part ourselves or acted as the chief organizers. Our young people hardly remember what these events were, but for many Americans they are a constant reminder of Soviet "aggressiveness" and "expansionism," the base on which new doctrines of the "Soviet military threat" are built.

No doubt our past actions in the world arena were not beyond reproach, and there are some steps that we would doubtless not repeat if it all happened over again. But one feature can be traced in the U.S. attitude to our foreign policy that is particularly important now, in the period of the growing nuclear threat and the decisive stage of talks on disarmament problems. The attitude to our foreign policy has long passed beyond the bounds of an admittedly critical, but realistic assessment of the rival's actions, it is closer to paranoia—the "hand of Moscow" is seen in every world conflict or seat of instability. We are firmly cast in the role of the "enemy figure," with all the details of which mass culture is capable. To a certain extent this image is out of control and has lost its links with the historical reality that engendered it. Few U.S. schoolchildren today can recall the nature of conflicts in which the USSR and the United States were involved, yet the movie and television image of the Russian has taken shape in many of them—the image of a terrifying, bloodthirsty creature in Soviet military uniform in the tropical jungles or on U.S. soil.

By all appearances, this paranoid anti-Sovietism is less well developed in Western Europe. In the opinion of some psychologists it developed in the United States because the country needs an "enemy figure" so as to be able to attribute to it the negative phenomena and acts that it subconsciously repents on its own account, and in particular to compensate for the "Vietnam syndrome." It is hard to say how far this is indeed so, but the existence of the "enemy figure" in the form of the Soviet Union and the fear of "Soviet expansionism" helped to ensure that the majority of Americans supported the invasion of Grenada and the bombing of Libya. Moreover, when public opinion polls ask Americans to put various countries in order of popularity, "positive attitude," and friendly feelings, we usually end up in the lower part of the list.

It is possible to meet with many Americans who regard us with interest, sympathy, and even profound friendliness; many members of the older generation recall with gratitude the Soviet Union's decisive role in the defeat of fascism, and make the pilgrimage to Volgograd to pay tribute to the heroes of the Battle of Stalingrad, but if we want a realistic assessment of the situation it is important to know what is the attitude of the mass of people in the United States toward us. However you measure or assess this attitude, at the moment it is mainly negative. People may explain their hostility, or fear of the "Russians," or distrust of us in different ways, but if you look into it, these feelings are based on three or four fundamental ideas. There is the fear of the Soviet threat of expansion in the world, there is distrust of us as a godless, immoral country; there is the idea of political life in the USSR as totalitarianism, as an antidemocratic regime. One could cite many more of our country's features in the Americans' eyes, but these suffice.

The "Soviet threat." Why do references to this in official documents and in the press meet with understanding and mass support, especially when it is a matter of extracting money for the next military budget? Here, for instance, are a few thoughts recorded in public opinion polls. "Russia (that is, the Soviet Union) only wants to defend itself against possible attack by other countries"—alas, only 8% of Americans thought that. "Russia seeks world domination and will take the risk of a major war if that domination cannot be achieved by other methods"—20%. These people are evidently the main targets of bellicose anti-Soviet rhetoric (incidentally, their numbers increased sharply—they doubled—and reached 39% after our troops went into Afghanistan); 29% believed that the Soviet Union "competes with the United States for influence in different parts of the world," and 35% thought that the USSR's aim is "world domination, but without the risk of a major war."

This fear of the "Soviet threat" is, in many Americans, without any rational basis, like fear of the dark or of ghosts. It is not infrequently given real form by politicians, journalists, or artists, like, for instance, the creators of the television serial "*Amerika*." This movie dots the i's, so to speak, in people's ideas and conjectures about the "Soviet threat" over the last decade. Since everyone talks about this threat, of what does it consist? One version is the all-destroying Soviet nuclear missile strike "out of a clear sky," as the Americans put it. Another is the exchange, on our initiative, at first of small strikes, followed by an escalation, according to the sinister scenario put forward by the well known futurologist Herman Kahn, leading to general nuclear war. However, these versions, for an ever increasing number of Americans, appear to lead to mutual destruction—83% of Americans believe that there can be no winners in a general nuclear war. Then the third version remains—the perfidious occupation of America or its allies, without destruction, by deception and secret penetration, as shown in the movies "*Invasion USA*," "*Red Dawn*," and lastly, "*Amerika*."

This movie was created as a counterweight to the television movie "*The Day After*," which showed in horrifying detail the outcome of a nuclear war for a typical U.S. city and which the right branded as a "Soviet propaganda tool." As a result a more "balanced" movie about a Soviet occupation was born, combining ideas of Soviet aggressiveness, Soviet expansionism, and what a "communist regime" is like. All this is mingled with American liberal self-flagellation: We do not value what we have—freedom, democracy, liberal norms—and we are not ready to defend all these things.

Among all the multitude of voices accusing us of expansionism and aggressiveness, a note of double standards or simply hypocrisy can be heard clearly enough. Whatever actions America may undertake, it is all legitimate and aimed at defending U.S. national interests; if we undertake the same actions, they acquire the epithets illegal, provocative, expansionist. If you try to identify in detail the reaction in different U.S. circles to a particular foreign policy action on our part—be it in Ethiopia or Afghanistan—the most diverse assessments can be found: from understanding and approval, from a pragmatic view (what America can do, the Soviet Union can do too), to keen criticism. But you do not have to be an expert in the quantitative analysis of the content of the press to sense that the general spirit of the debate is condemnation. It is not only a question of the shortage of facts about Soviet intentions in each specific case or of the deliberate distortion of the facts, but of a logic that runs through the majority of arguments: The actions may be legitimate, but it is the "evil empire" that is carrying them out. This term was given currency by Reagan, but something similar has been used for decades.

Foreign policy theorists like Kissinger, Brzezinski, and Perle can have devious explanations of "Soviet motives" and "expansionist plans," based on complicated geopolitical calculations proceeding from our supposed desire to secure a "presence" in this or that region; U.S. foreign policy plans are partially based on these constructs. But the basis of the ideas, even in the upper echelons of power, is primordial Russian and then "communist,"

"Soviet" expansionism. This partly presupposes an analogy with the religious expansion of the past. Since communism is a faith (and many Americans consider communism to be akin to a fanatical religious faith), it seeks, like the religions of the past, to extend its influence, even by using force, to lands populated by "heretics" or "pagans." For others, the idea of world revolution as a near or remote goal of communist ideology has become firmly established. Naturally, all the arguments by Marxist theorists to the effect that the export of revolution is impermissible are disregarded.

Be that as it may, fears of "Soviet expansionism" and terror of the "Soviet threat" are widespread. They are not constant—in recent decades the curve has swung fairly sharply up and down. In the second half of the seventies there was a strengthening of right-wing forces in the United States and an expansion of conservative views and sentiments after the liberal sixties. Part of this conservative wave was criticism of detente, which supposedly brings one-sided advantages to the USSR, and assertions about the Soviet Union's buildup of military might and the growth of the "Soviet military threat." In these conditions the ratification of the SALT II Treaty was under preparation in 1979. The right stepped up the criticism of the treaty, seeking to thwart its passage through Congress. Public opinion was divided more or less equally between support and disapproval of the treaty. Therefore the report on the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan fell on fertile soil.

The year 1981 was a year of flourishing anti-Sovietism in America, vying in intensity only with the anti-Iranian sentiments generated by the seizure of U.S. diplomats as hostages in Tehran. The growth of anti-Soviet sentiments has usually been accompanied, in recent decades, by support for increased military spending. Thus whereas in 1976 only 22% were in favor of increasing military appropritions, in 1981 the figure was 51%. The subsequent turn of events began to be called "cold war II."

The part played by the Republican Reagan administration in whipping up anti-Soviet and anticommunist sentiments is well known, but rhetoric of the "evil empire" variety fitted in with the existing political climate and widespread mass ideas.

However we may try to explain and justify our foreign policy steps, we must be aware that they may look different from elsewhere. We cannot shrug aside foreign public opinion, still less mass sentiments in the United States. In the modern electronic age half of foreign policy is the struggle for the understanding and approval of the public at large. The time of secret diplomacy is past, and broad strata of the population express their views on world events. Their level of knowledge may leave something to be desired, especially in the United States, but this is the reality. Public opinion makes itself heard in demonstrations, marches, referendums, public opinion polls, and elections. Equally important, public opinion creates the political atmosphere, the spirit of the time, in which diplomats and politicians have to operate. Thus if a U.S. presidential candidate is preparing a speech on foreign policy, he will make it a priority to examine the results of the latest Gallup or Harris polls—to see what is the Americans' reaction to particular steps by the USSR or to the President's proposals.

U.S. distrust toward us as an unpredictable neighbor armed to the teeth could be an insuperable obstacle to real disarmament in the foreseeable future, were it not for another tendency which pushes the Americans toward talks and accords with us. This tendency is fear of the nuclear threat. It has not increased in proportion to the accumulation of nuclear weapons in the world. The sense of America's vulnerability has increased in fits and starts. The first of these was after the launch of the first satellite—the Soviet Union had acquired ballistic missiles capable of reaching the American continent. The panic was considerable, and was expressed, in particular, in the boom in the construction of individual nuclear shelters in the early sixties. But then the anxiety became dormant and receded into the background, partly under the influence of the Vietnam war. Then came detente, which brought the hope of eliminating the danger of war. Then the arguments about the "Soviet threat" led to a campaign of bellicosity and chauvinism, but at the same time there was a growth in the fear of mutual destruction in a nuclear missile war and the mentality of "mutual assured destruction" was developed still further. The more they intimidated the Americans with the threat of the Russians, demanding the strengthening of defense, the more the Americans, while approving the growth in military spending, also came out in favor of talks with us and of curbing the arms race.

In the last decade U.S. public opinion has been characterized by a contradictory but, on the whole, understandable logic: Yes, the Russians are perfidious and aggressive, and therefore the United States must step up its defense, including SDI, but at the same time it is necessary to seek means of rapprochement with them in order to curb the arms race and eliminate the nuclear threat. For instance, a recent public opinion poll, carried out by CBS for *The New York Times* in September, showed that 56% of Americans approve the proposal to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles, whereas 37% disapprove and 7% had no opinion. At the same time 67% believed that if such an agreement is concluded, the Soviet Union will "deceive" the United States and violate the treaty, and only 25% thought that the USSR will fulfill it. Concerning their own country, the assessment was the other way round—29% against 65. That is, the Americans are preparing to conclude a deal with a partner they believe to be dishonest. Were it not for the fear of war, support for agreements would be lower, as, for instance, during the discussion of the SALT II Treaty. One may be skeptical about how well informed U.S. public opinion is and about its real significance in the adoption of important decisions, but when it comes

to the ratification of treaties in the Senate, public opinion, informed or otherwise, is a very important factor influencing the congressmen's positions.

But the problem of trust goes far beyond the bounds of the evaluation of the two countries' military might and military-political intentions. The Americans base their ideas of our "dishonesty" not only, and not chiefly, on the right's press accusations about the Soviet Union's violation of earlier treaties—not many people have paid any attention to the press complaints about our Krasnoyarsk radar. Moreover the U.S. press has repeatedly published reports by government officials and politicians on the unsubstantiated nature of accusations that the Soviet Union has violated accords. The distrust toward us is founded to a greater extent on hostility to us as a system and on the country's overall negative image in the consciousness of the majority of Americans.

Here once again we come back to the "evil empire."

Stripped of the denunciatory metaphors, the criticism of our sociopolitical and economic system amounts to the following collection of verbiage. "The Soviet Union is a totalitarian state. All life there is controlled from above: what is to be produced and grown by which plants and kolkhozes, what clothes are to be worn, what music is to be listened to and what pictures painted, who goes abroad and who does not, and so forth. The USSR is an undemocratic system. The elections are purely formal, because only one candidate is nominated for each place, criticism of the government and individual leaders is banned, the newspapers only print those articles and letters that contain praise of the existing order, books and movies criticizing particular aspects of life are not distributed. The socialist system of economic management has not justified itself—economic growth rates are low, the living standard is far behind the majority of Western countries, there is a permanent shortage of food and industrial goods. Lastly, by virtue of the fact that the country is godless and religion is suppressed, morality is low and hypocrisy and double standards are widespread. In order to conceal all this from their own people and the outside world, it is all hidden behind a curtain of secrecy..."

This gloomy picture or individual fragments of it appear in the minds of many Americans when the subject of the Soviet Union comes up, and this has been the case since postwar times. Now they no longer talk, as they did in the twenties, about the public ownership of women and taking children away from their parents by force in order to inculcate "communist ideas" in them, but many stereotypes became entrenched in the mass consciousness as long ago as that.

At the same time, if we take another look at this list and try to translate it into more suitable language, we will see many propositions that are familiar to us from today's materials in our press describing aspects of the "period of stagnation." Of course, not the whole package, but piece by piece; but many of these descriptions that are eagerly reproduced in the U.S. press are the things our party and country are fighting against, things we are beginning to move away from. However, the problem is that "they" still do not know that, or rather, they have too little, too vague a knowledge of it. For instance, in a recent poll, only 16% had heard of the concept of "glasnost," and only 11% realized that "glasnost" is "openness." Some 82% had not heard of this concept. At the same time, something is getting through to the Americans: For instance, 47% (against 40) expressed the opinion that today "the Soviet system allows criticism from its citizens to a greater extent."

Nonetheless 70% regard themselves as anticommunists, half think that "communism" is "the worst of all possible systems," and some 40% think that Soviet people, given the opportunity, would prefer "the U.S. system of government."

In another poll, Americans were asked: If Soviet people were given complete freedom to emigrate, how many of them would leave their homeland? Some 50% of the respondents believed that between 5 and 50% of the USSR's population would leave, 14% believed that more than half the population would leave, and only 10% thought that fewer than 1 million people would leave their country. (Of course, in considering these estimates it should be borne in mind that the United States is a land of immigrants, and its inhabitants think calmly about the propsect of millions of people moving from one country to another.)

Perhaps no less important than these general views is the U.S. attitude to particular features of our country and its people. Thus when asked who is more concerned about family ties, Russians or Americans, 46% said the Americans, and 25% the Russians; who is more concerned about children: 46% the Americans and 10% the Russians; who is more patriotic: 58% the Americans and 22% the Russians. Finally, the question is often posed thus: "Is it better to be red than dead," or, in other words, "would you prefer the risk of the annihilation of the United States in a war to domination by the Russians." In recent years the proportion has been about 55% to 30.

Distrust toward us and disbelief in the sincerity of our proposals and promises arise not only from fears of our violation of military accords or the more general rules of the game, but also from the ideas held by Americans, both ordinary people and those in power, about our internal affairs, our ideals, morals, and customs. It is naive to suppose that our internal affairs do not affect anyone else, or to expect our partners to examine only our foreign policy positions and proposals. Just as it is not a matter of indifference to us to know which country is putting forward what particular ideas, who is now in power there, whether the next government will follow the

same line, and in general, whether they harbor a grudge of any kind—so our neighbors seek to look over the fence at us. Alas, what they see is by no means always an idyllic picture.

We are living in a revolutionary period and the country has changed beyond recognition in the last 2 years. Clearly, we are not carrying out the restructuring and democratization in order to gratify our critics abroad. It is necessary first and foremost for ourselves. However, it would be a mistake to disregard the influence of our internal affairs on world politics. Many thinking people in many countries, the United States included, are carefully observing what is happening in the Soviet Union. There is much that they do not understand, but they seek to understand. It is not only the left and the liberals who are observing us, but also those on whose support we have not been counting—representatives of various conservative parties and currents. Often their very conservatism is based on the unshakable platform of ideas that socialism and Marxist ideology are incompatible with democracy, freedom, and a humane attitude to the human personality. In this respect the development—albeit difficult—of our democracy, whether in Ufa, Alma-Ata, or Riga, is of no less foreign policy significance than the U.S. congressmen's visit to the Krasnoyarsk radar station or the public destruction of chemical bombs.

As for U.S. public opinion about us, the stereotypes and simply false ideas that it has accumulated cannot be changed overnight, it will take time to overturn them. Much depends on that country's political leadership and intelligentsia—whether they decide to put an end to the practice of declaring us to be the "evil empire" and creating an "enemy figure" in our shape. For our part, we could supply the creators of these images with less in the way of literary material, bricks for building the "evil empire," and food for satire. In this respect glasnost in the Soviet mass media could take away the bread and butter of many U.S. "Sovietologists" who have specialized in describing our endless shortages and arrogant apparatchiks.

PRAVDA Notes Bush Seeking Nomination

PM270951 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Vice President Enters Struggle"]

[Text] Washington, 15 Oct—As already reported, a new official participant has appeared in the struggle for the White House in the 1988 elections. It is U.S. Vice President G. Bush, who announced in Houston, Texas, his decision to seek the Republican Party nomination for the highest post in the country. This is Bush's second attempt to get into the White House. In 1980 he lost to R. Reagan and was forced to content himself with the post of vice president.

The 63-year-old Bush joins the "presidential race" as the immediate leader among the Republican contenders, who significantly lag behind him in popularity. Of the five contenders only Republican Senator R. Dole could be likely to be a real rival to the vice president.

Bush's leading position is mainly explained by his present post, which has provided him with national exposure. In addition, compared with the others, he has an impressive record—the youngest naval pilot in World War II, congressman, U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, head of the U.S. Liaison Office in China, CIA director, and, finally, vice president. It is no accident that Bush's entourage stresses in every way that he possesses great foreign policy experience since he has visited 76 countries and met with many world leaders.

Bush has a superb organizational apparatus covering every state in the country. He has collected more money than the others, which sometimes plays a decisive role here. According to the latest figures, Bush's election funds amount to $13 million and by the end of the year will increase to $20 million.

Nonetheless, as observers consider, Bush certainly does not have plus points alone. There are also plenty of minus points capable of causing his second campaign as well to founder. Since 1836 no vice president has managed to get elected President. Bush's problems mainly hinge on... the post he now occupies. As the vice president, he prefers not to disagree with Reagan so as not to appear "disloyal" to the President. It is partly because of this that many Americans have the impression of Bush as a characterless and indecisive figure. As the ABC television company noted, there are still serious questions relating to his involvement in the disgraceful "Irangate" scandal.

State Department Accused of 'Manipulation'

PM270929 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Oct 87 Second Edition p 3

[O. Polyakovskiy dispatch: "Secrets of 'Foggy Bottom'; Lies and Slander at the Service of U.S. Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Washington—Webster's states that Daltonism is "colorblindness, particularly the inability to differentiate red and green." One could add to this brief definition that, until recently, specialists considered Daltonism to be a hereditary sight defect.

Obviously it is time to review this opinion. The State Department has convincingly proved that color blindness can be acquired. Furthermore, it is clearly time to abandon the opinion that a person affect by color blindness may confuse other colors but not black and white. As it transpired this week, the U.S. foreign policy department dubbed as "white propaganda" a blatant case of disinformation which, according to all existing rules, can only be called black.

The dissemination of this propaganda is handled by the State Department's special service. It goes by the absolutely inoffensive title of the Department of Public Diplomacy for Latin American and the Caribbean Countries. "Is it possible to obtain any documents, press releases, or announcements about the department's activity so as to understand just what it actually does?"—in response to this question, which was not dictated by any suspicions but just by plain curiosity and, you will agree, the obvious vagueness of the term "public diplomacy," a State Department Press Office staffer told me that there is no official descriptive information on the department and none had ever been issued to the press.

This was several months ago, when the State Department had still not stripped correspondents from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of their entrance passes—at the time it was possible to go in without prior notification and move around without the "escorts" that are now specially allocated. The reply seemed strange: Even though people at "Foggy Bottom," as Washingtonians call the U.S. foreign policy department, love to be obscure, nonetheless each important subdivision has its own public relations office. But in this department, which according to its name should have been geared to the public, there was nothing of the kind.

The mystery was only solved when the General Accounting Office, which carries out various investigations at the bidding of legislators, published a report. It threw light for the first time on the activity of a department created by a decision of the Reagan administration back in July 1983. Its main function, as the report shows, is to fabricate disinformation about the policy of Nicaragua's Sandinista government, to prepare materials in support of the contras and the administration's interventionist course in Central America, and to brainwash public opinion. The department's activity, the General Accounting Office concluded, is illegal in nature.

...A departmental memorandum of 13 March 1985 was never intended for publication, as is shown by the classification—"Confidential. Read Only." This means that the document is not only not to be published but cannot be discussed. Jonathan Miller, a staffer at the department, sent the memo from the State Department to Patrick Buchanan, then director of White House communications. Miller bragged about the department's successes in the field of "white propaganda" without explaining the term, which shows that the White House already knew perfectly well what was being discussed. Miller talked, in particular, about the successful "placing" in *The Wall Street Journal* of an article by Professor John Gilmartin—a "consultant" for the department—prepared with the participation of State Department staffers. The article was devoted to the "growth of the Sandinista military threat" to Central America. "Officially our department has no connection with the article," Miller stressed.

The falsehood was published 11 March 1985. On 15 March Gilmartin presented the department of public diplomacy with a bill stating that he had done his work successfully and requesting payment of $500. The sum requested for the professor's work on disinformation, *The Wall Street Journal* established, was paid soon after publication of the General Accounting Office report.

In the same memo Miller also talked about success in influencing the content of a report on the contras by CBS correspondent Fred Francis and in securing the publication of articles in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* written by department staffers but signed by contra ringleaders.

The first evidence that the Reagan administration was conducting an extensive disinformation campaign appeared during the hearings on Capitol Hill conducted by the congressional special committees on "Irangate." It then became known that the White House controlled the State Department's black propaganda department via the National Security Council.

Then the chairmen of the House Government Operations (Jack Brooks) and Foreign Affairs (Dante Fascell) Committees decided to thoroughly investigate the department's activity and asked the General Accounting Office to handle it. Commenting on its report, D. Fascell said: "It makes me wonder what is still being hidden from Congress and the American people." J. Brooks stated for his part: "This illegal operation is an important component in the administration's efforts to manipulate public opinion and the actions of Congress." In this regard I recalled a briefing at the State Department held just a few days before publication of the General Accounting Office report. At the briefing Kathleen Bailey, deputy assistant secretary at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, was asked the following question in connection with the U.S. allegations that the USSR constantly engages in disinformation: "Has the United States ever engaged in disinformation?"

"There have been no falsifications or disinformation campaigns," she rasped.

Bailey was finessing, to say the least. After all, it was none other than her boss, Secretary of State George Shultz, who stated a year ago: "The truth is sometimes so precious that lies must be its bodyguard."

USIA Booklet on U.S. Pacific Presence Scored

PM261315 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Oct 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS dispatch: "Another Pack of Lies"]

[Text] Washington, 14 Oct—Another title has been added to the long list of propaganda booklets published by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). It is "U.S. Military Positions in the Pacific." Its compilers are clearly alarmed at the broad positive reaction evoked in

the countries of Asia and the Pacific basin by the new Soviet proposals aimed at strengthening security and stability in the region. The authors did not manage to completely suppress these proposals but they tried, nonetheless, to "find a way out of the dilemma." Mentioning the "wave of recent diplomatic initiatives" by the USSR in a single sentence, the compilers of the booklet then immediately resorted to a well rehearsed propaganda technique, trying to peddle the myth about the "Soviet military threat" and, on the pretext of the defense of "vital U.S. interests," to justify the "need" for an unchecked buildup of U.S. forces in the Pacific.

The lofty phrases about "strengthening security" and "the defense of vital interests" which the authors bandy about are no more than a propaganda screen for the massive buildup of the U.S. military presence in the region. As is evident from the booklet, the radius of activity of the U.S. Pacific and Indian Ocean Command with its headquarters in Hawaii covers a vast territory from the Pacific coast of North and South America to the east coast of Africa, and from the Arctic to the Antarctic. Around 250 warships, including the latest nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, Trident class missile submarines, each of which carries 24 MIRVed ICBM's, Los Angeles class strike submarines, and 2 modernized battleships—*New Jersey* and *Missouri*—and nuclear-powered cruisers armed with nuclear cruise missiles are deployed here, as are 2,600 warplanes, including B-52 bombers. U.S. forces equipped with the latest hardware are deployed in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and numerous military bases and installations covering the Pacific region in a dense network.

This militarist structure is spearheaded against Northeast Asia and the Soviet Far East. At the same time, Washington is trying to get its allies involved more actively in its military preparations. It emerges from the booklet that in 1986 the U.S. Pacific and Indian Ocean Command organized more than 80 military maneuvers, including such major exercises as the joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" exercises, the U.S.-Japanese "Yamasakura" and "Cope North," and the U.S.-Thai "Cobra Gold" and "Commando West" exercises. However, even the U.S. allies are beginning to think that the large-scale U.S. military presence in the region intensifies the danger of confrontation and leads to mounting tension in the Pacific basin.

Opening of U.S. Computer Exhibit Reported

PM261039 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[T. Seledtsova report: "Opening of Exhibition"]

[Text] An exhibition entitled "Information Technology in theLife of the United States" has opened in Rostovna-Donu. It has been organized by the USIA. The exhibition is being held held in accordance with the 1985 agreement on USSR-U.S exchanges with the assistance of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry.

Opening the exhibition, U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock said, among other things:

"This exhibition is an attempt to help a difficult but vitally important task, the task of creating better understanding between our societies. Technology cannot make a contribution to the cause of better understanding until the two sides have a desire to understand each other. We Americans do have such a desire, and I am certain that a similar desire exists here too, in Rostov, as well as everywhere else in the Soviet Union."

The exhibition shows computers, communications equipment, and various automated devices used in various spheres of activity.

Rostov is the third city to be visited by the exhibition, the inhabitants of Moscow and Kiev having already seen it.

Soviet Nuclear Specialists End U.S. Visit

LD271723 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0210 GMT 27 Oct 87

[Text] Washington, 27 Oct (TASS)—A visit to the United States by a delegation of Soviet specialists in the field of nuclear power engineering has ended. During a 2-week stay in the country the Soviet delegation, led by A.L. Lapshin, USSR deputy minister of atomic power, visited several nuclear power stations and U.S. research centers and had several meetings with U.S. specialists.

As is being stressed by the specialists who took part in the conversations the exchange of opinions will serve to expand cooperation in the area of improving security at nuclear power stations. According to Lando Zech, chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the conversations with Soviet colleagues were very "direct and open". As both sides have noted, Soviet-U.S. dialogue in this area is of benefit to all of mankind.

St Paul Conference on Soviet Reforms Viewed

PM260853 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik report: "Restructuring Is For Real. Conference at St Paul"]

[Text] New York, 14 Oct—A 2-day conference on the theme of "The Consequences of the New Soviet Thinking" has ended in St Paul, Minnesota. About 200 of the most prominent representatives from business, scientific, and political circles of a number of countries in West and East took part in the conference. The conference organizers—the New York Institute for the study of East-West security problems played this role—set themselves two tasks. First, to make a general assessment of the changes taking place in our country. Second, to present Western political leaders with a set of recommendations on tactics and strategy.

The basic point of the discussions on the first question is to put an end to the debate which has been going on in the West for more than 2 years, since the beginning of restructuring in the Soviet Union. Earlier debate concentrated on questions which have now become banal: Is restructuring in earnest, does it stem from purely opportunistic [konyunkturnyy] considerations, is it to the West's advantage, wouldn't it make sense to wait and see how events in the USSR develop. The conclusion of the main paper entitled "How Should America Respond to Gorbachev's Challenge?" is as follows: Restructuring is for real and long-term, and the West should proceed only from this assessment, planning its policy for years and years ahead. "There were differing opinions on this score among the authors of the paper, which took 8 months to compile," R. Legvold [name as published], director of the Harriman Institute for long-term study of the Soviet Union, told your correspondent. "But most of the differences disappeared after your party's Central Committee June plenum. It became clear then that the course of renewal is your leadership's long-term course."

The conference said that the challenge generated by restructuring in the Soviet Union also demands the elaboration of a new—positive—approach by the West in its relations with the USSR. The outline of this new approach was set out in the main paper in St Paul. In particular, in the military sphere the United States, together with its NATO allies, should seek to reduce conventional arms with the aim of reducing military confrontation in Europe. As J. Nay [name as published], one of the authors of the paper, noted in St Paul, "it would be worth examining the question of a 'triple-zero' in Europe, whereby NATO's tactical nuclear weapons would be reduced along with Soviet tanks." A ban on chemical weapons and the reduction of Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear arsenals must also be priorities in talks with the Soviet Union. As for the notorious "Star Wars" program, the conclusion of the authors of the paper is unambiguous: "It is essential for both sides to find means to strengthen the ABM Treaty and to ensure a situation in which any research on strategic defense systems would correspond to the aims of preserving the treaty."

The expansion of trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union would also be in the interests of the West, it was said in St Paul. The USSR must be granted the status of observer in the GATT and the IMF. In addition, the question of abolishing discriminatory conditions regarding trade with the USSR should be examined. It is essential that the West also make every effort, in the event of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, to see that its territory is not utilized to damage Soviet security.

Common sense and sensible assessments... There was quite a lot of this at St Paul. But something else has to be admitted here: As yet by no means everyone here shares these thoughts. The talk given by Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead, who in his talk "The U.S. Challenge to Gorbachev" attempted to level a number of absurd charges against the USSR and to make recommendations as to how we should implement restructuring, struck a discordant note. But today it seems the adherents of the old approaches are in the minority.

The most important point of the conference in St Paul is that it raises the current tasks in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations to a new level of perception for the Americans and creates a good intellectual foundation for foreign policy discussions during the presidential campaign next year. St Paul showed that a new understanding is also appearing in the United States, namely: The new political thinking in the East also demands new political thinking in the West.

China

Rogachev Interviewed on PRC Talks

LD241804 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 24 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, 24 Oct (TASS)—"From round to round, the general state of Soviet-Chinese relations is improving. This is the result of the desire of the leaderships of the USSR and the PRC to achieve a positive development in their bilateral relations," USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said in an interview with *Izvestiya's* Beijing correspondent. I. Rogachev was taking part in the 11th round of Soviet-Chinese political consultations at the level of special representative of the governments of the two countries that recently took place in Beijing.

There are grounds for expressing satisfaction over the outcome of the round that has been held, Igor Rogachev stressed. The sides continued with a discussion of issues of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations. The presence of favorable prospects for the continued expansion of Soviet-Chinese business cooperation was noted. Agreement was reached on holding Days of Science and Technology of the USSR in China in 1988, and of China in the USSR in 1989. The sides began drafting a 3-year plan for cultural cooperation for the years 1988-90. All this is evidence of the growing benevolent mutual interest in various aspects of the life of one another. The Soviet side is likewise ready for further development in border exchanges.

During the round, an exchange of opinions took place on topical issues of ensuring peace in the world and in the Asian and Pacific region. On a number of important international issues the Soviet Union and China hold similar positions. This concerns such issues as disarmament, including nuclear, the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, the cessation of the Iran-Iraq conflict, support for the DPRK initiatives aimed at detente in the Korean peninsula. There is progress at the talks on border issues.

We asserted, the deputy minister noted, the firm intention of the CPSU and of the Soviet state to proceed in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations in order to make them relations of good-neighborliness and friendship. The same desire was expressed on the Chinese side.

Commentary on Zhao Ziyang Report to CPC

OW280311 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 27 Oct 87

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] In his summing up report to the 13th CPC National Congress, Zhao Ziyang, Acting General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, expressed support for the people of all countries in their efforts to defend peace and fight for disarmament. Zhao Ziyang pointed out in particular: We shall strive, together with all peaceloving countries and people in the world, to make the international situation develop in a direction beneficial to the people of all countries on this earth and to world peace. Commenting on this, our observer Ivanov writes as follows:

As far as the peoples of socialist countries are concerned, no task is more important to them today than to prevent a new world war, stop the arms race and realize arms reduction. Our two countries need a peaceful environment in order to realize our grand programs for socialist economic construction, to carry out a thorough reform of the whole national economic structure, and to bring socialism to perfection. When (?the size of) the Army is reduced and disarmament realized, it will be possible to have huge funds diverted to meet the pressing needs of socialist countries to speed up development of the economy, science, and technology.

Much of the development in the international situation is determined by the two largest socialist countries, the Soviet Union and China. The peoples of our two countries have an historical mission, a grave responsibility, on our shoulders. For this reason, all other socialist countries, nonaligned countries, and the people of the whole world welcome all positive progress in the development of relations between the Soviet Union and China, and any sign of their views getting closer on the most important international issues. It may be noted with satisfaction today that the Soviet Union and China hold similar views or views close to each other on such questions as how to prevent the arms race from expanding into space and how to destroy all types of weapons of mass destruction. Both our two countries have undertaken the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and we both call on other big powers to do the same. The Soviet Union and China support the signing of treaties to turn Latin America and the South Pacific into nuclear-free zones, actively support the proposal of People's Korea to ease the tense situation in the Korean peninsula, and call for a stop to the war between Iran and Iraq.

No doubt, cooperation between the Soviet Union and China in international affairs carries great potential. Doubtless, such potential will bring its influence to bear along with the development in breadth and in depth of the political contacts between the two countries. This is the necessary prerequisite. The development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and China accords with the fundamental interests of the peoples of our two countries. As far as the people of the Soviet Union and China are concerned, socialism and peace are most valuable and inseparable.

XINHUA Comments on Socialism in PRC

PM291015 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "XINHUA Commentary"]

[Text] Beijing, 20 Oct—Under the headline "The Concept of the Initial Stage of Socialism—the Key to Understanding the Situation Today," XINHUA has disseminated a commentary analyzing the present stage of the development of socialism in the country.

"Communism at the double"—the slogan appeared in China in 1958 when the "Great Leap Forward" began. The "Great Leap Forward" policy had to be abandoned because it seriously damaged the economy. But over the next 20 years Chinese economic development was characterized by a series of sharp ups and downs. The fundamental cause of this was the leftist character of the party leadership, which tried to leapfrog the initial stage of socialism. Under the influence of these leftist ideas the class struggle was placed in center stage and the development of productive forces—the country's chief task at the initial stage of socialism—was demoted to a secondary role.

The result of this erroneous approach was that there was a general attempt to boost production solely through working people's enthusiasm. The people who were making the country's policy sought to accelerate implementation and legalization of a single form of ownership—public ownership of the means of production. They believed that a greater degree of socialization meant a higher stage of socialism. In the sphere of distribution the dominant factor was leveling, which merely served to stifle working people's vigor. These misconceptions are still having an adverse effect on people's consciousness and are evident in the approach to economic reform. Many find it difficult to define whether a particular transformation is socialist or capitalist. It is the task of Chinese economists and theorists to answer all these questions.

Now the CPC has come to the conclusion that the country is still at the initial stage of the development of socialism. In the economists' opinion, the stage began in the fifties, when public ownership of the means of production was announced, and will continue until

China attains the economic level of an average-developed country. CPC Central Advisory Commission Chairman Deng Xiaoping forecasts that the country will attain that level of economic development in the middle of the next century. The socialist system in China is still very imperfect, and it will take rather a long time to perfect it. Economists are working on a study of the basic features of the initial stage of socialism in China. Scientists at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Scientific Research Institute define them as follows:

China is building socialism. Its productive forces have now grown considerably and have vast potential resources, but labor productivity remains low. The level of socialization and the level of output marketability also remain low;

Socialist production relations are developing all the time, but the system of public ownership and the system of distribution according to labor are still imperfect;

The basic political system of socialism is already dominant, but democracy for the people is still far from complete, both in breadth and in depth.

At the bottom of these features, scientists believe, is the fact that China started building socialism on the basis of a semifeudal and semicolonial society.

Today many Chinese economists believe that the exchange economy, market mechanism, or planned mechanism are not of a class nature in themselves and do not determine the character of society's economic system. Economists from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences believe that the development of a system characterized by a multiplicity of forms of ownership while public ownership is dominant contributes to the development of a socialist economy in China and makes it possible to resolve the contradiction between social justice and efficiency. This conclusion is another breakthrough by Chinese theorists.

A correct understanding of the fact that China is still at the initial stage of socialism is not only the key to understanding the deepening reform of the economic system, but paves the way for the upcoming reform of the political structure which will be discussed at the upcoming 13th CPC Congress, the XINHUA commentary stresses in conclusion.

Joint Use of Argun, Amur Rivers
OW261121 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia and Pacific 1300 GMT 23 Oct 87

[Talk by Polad-Zade, deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources and chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Joint Committee on the Use of Argun and Amur — recorded in Russian fading into Chinese translation]

[Text] During the past year, we have done a lot of work. However, it was just a first step in our joint efforts. Our main tasks include the following: The Amur River causes floods every year and brings about considerable losses to both sides of the border. To fight against the natural disaster, both China and the Soviet Union have to mobilize great manpower and use a lot of money and supplies. Therefore, the most important thing is to formulate measures to prevent floods along the river in both Soviet and Chinese territories. We can also jointly build hydroelectric power stations to provide electricity for both Chinese and the Soviet sides. [words indistinct] We can also cooperate in many other fields. We should jointly formulate measures to fully use the river because it can make significant contributions to developing and promoting economic cooperation and friendship between the people of the two countries.

The first meeting of the committee was held in Beijing last December. We discussed with our Chinese counterparts many important questions and formulated a work plan. In summer this year, we conducted the first large-scale comprehensive survey along the Amur River. During the one-month period, Chinese and Soviet experts inspected river banks, conducted geological and topographical surveys and gathered large amount of data. In November this year, the second meeting of the meeting will be held in Moscow. A report on work done during the past year will be submitted to this meeting.

I wish to emphatically point out that our work did not start from zero. We and our Chinese counterparts set a high value on the achievements in this work through cooperation between the two countries in the fifties. A large amount of data were gathered at that time. In our present work, we have used them as reference and also used the experience of friendly cooperation of personnel in the field of water conservancy and soil improvement of both countries at that time.

I also wish to point out that, during our stay in China, we felt that our Chinese counterparts were especially interested in cooperation between the two countries. There was great enthusiasm in our mutual relationship. We have established personal links with Chinese comrades who will work with us. This atmosphere of friendship, happiness and mutual benefit is promoting relations between our two countries. We hope that this relationship will further improve and develop. Therefore, I am convinced that our joint work will be beneficial to a good-neighborly relationship and cooperation between the two countries.

Border Trade Volume on the Rise
OW261716 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Oct 87

[Text] In the last 1 and 1/2 years border trade shows were held in Alma-Ata, Irkutsk, Blagoveshchensk, and China's Huocheng and Urumqi. Border trade between the Soviet Far East and Siberia, and China's Heilongjiang

Province and Nei Monggol Autonomous Region is growing especially fast. Trade volume for the first 9 months of this year is almost double that of the same period last year.

China exports light industry and food products, while the USSR exports construction material, the Soviet Far East will host a products show from Jilin Province.

Both sides will negotiate and sign 1988 trade agreement, based on the outcome of this year's shows.

Border trade volume between USSR and China has quadrupled since 1983.

Northeast Asia

Agreement Reached With Japan on Air Services

PM281151 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Along the Transsiberian Route"]

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Oct—As a result of talks held here between delegations of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Japanese Ministry of Transport an accord has been reached on expanding cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of air transport.

Aeroflot will be able to operate 14 flights per week from Tokyo to West Europe via Moscow. The number of Aeroflot passenger and freight flights from Khabarovsk to Niigata is also being increased.

Japan Airlines will be able to operate up to 16 flights per week along the Transsiberian route, up to 13 of them without touching down in Moscow.

The accord will promote the further development of relations between the USSR and Japan in the sphere of air transport.

Japanese Cocom Mission Linked to 'Humiliation'

PM281137 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[Sergey Tikhomirov "Commentator's Column": "Blows for Export"]

[Text] The Government of Japan has decided to send a delegation on Cocom (Coordinating Committee for Controls on Exports to Socialist Countries) questions to the so-called "new industrial states" of Asia, South Korea, and the ASEAN countries. The purpose of the trip, *Sankei Shimbun* reports, is "to give the Cocom system a complete international character." What baggage are Tokyo's emissaries taking with them to the capitals of neighboring Asian countries?

Remember that in the wake of the noisy U.S.-Japanese scandal caused by the notorious "affair" of the "Toshiba Kikai" Company, which the United States "found guilty" of shipping modern equipment to the Soviet Union, Y. Nakasone's government essentially publicly chastised not only the "guilty" firm, but also other Japanese entrepreneurs by imposing rigid restrictions on their trade with socialist countries. Tokyo, as is well known, made official "apologies" to the United States, accused "Toshiba" of betraying national interests, and drew up a series of repressive legislative measures for possible future "violators."

It is scarcely necessary to say that, in attacking "Toshiba Kikai," Washington was primarily attempting to punish Japan—the United States' major economic rival. With all kinds of punitive restrictions on Japanese imports to the United States, the U.S. Administration is attempting to reduce the Land of the Rising Sun's multibillion-dollar favorable bilateral trade balance. At the same time barriers are being put in the way of Japanese business in developing trade and economic cooperation with the socialist countries. In short, the Japanese were disgraced and at the same time suffered definite financial losses. Now, barely more than a week after the close of Japanese-U.S. consultations on Cocom questions held in Tokyo, news has come of Tokyo's readiness to play up to Washington in exporting its discriminatory practices.

What lies behind this helpfulness? It seems to me that both Washington and Tokyo are seriously alarmed by Southeast Asian developing countries' growing interest in establishing mutually beneficial trade and economic contacts with the USSR, an interest which has particularly emerged since the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's well known Vladivostok speech. Standing to attention before the Americans, Y. Nakasone's government is trying not only to involve the developing countries of the Asian and Pacific region in the Cocom sphere of influence and make them increasingly dependent on political timeservers on the banks of the Potomac, but also get back at its junior partners for the humiliation endured at the hands of the United States.

For its part the United States, while entrusting Japan with such a frankly unsavory mission, is, as it were, giving its guilty ally yet another chance to atone for its sins. But the whole question is whether the ASEAN countries will equally obedient executors of Washington's will.

Demichev Receives Japan Envoy's Credentials

LD240001 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Oct 87

[Text] In the Kremlin today, Toshiaki Muto, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Japan, handed his credentials to Comrade Demichev, candidate member of the Politiburo of the CPSU Central Committee

and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. After the handing over of credentials and an exchange of speeches, Comrade Demichev and Mr Muto held a conversation.

Japan-U.S. Military Strategy Increasing

OW230125 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 21 Oct 87

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] The unified anti-war action day campaign is being held in Japan today, 21 October. In this regard, Military Commentator Kalinin writes as follows:

A mass demonstration protesting the U.S. invasion of Vietnam was held in Japan on 21 October 1966. Since then, this day has become the annual unified anti-war action day for peace forces in Japan. In the past few years, rallies and demonstrations were held on this day with the aim of intensifying the national struggle to abolish the Japan-U.S. Security Pact. This is certainly not accidental, since the present orientation of the anti-war actions reflects the increasing Japanese concern about the possible dangers from Japan's further involvement in the strategic military plans of the United States.

First of all, it can be pointed out that Japan has gone further and clearly deviated from the limitations in the military field that it has hitherto propagandized. In this regard, it should be pointed out that in late 1982, the Heritage Foundation—an influential U.S. organization which is closely related to the Reagan administration—called on the Japanese side to do the following: remove limits on military expenditures; remove prohibitions on the export of arms and military technology; remove the prohibition on procurement of offensive weapons; remove the prohibition on the Self-Defense Forces' overseas activities; and to abolish the three non-nuclear principles. Five years have passed since then. What is the situation now?

In late 1986, the Japanese Government decided to remove the 1%-of-GNP ceiling on defense spending. In 1983, a treaty was signed and Japan began to supply military technology to the United States. With its decision to officially join the U.S. "Star Wars" program this summer, Japan has indicated its intention to further expand the scale of its participation. The Self-Defense Forces have strengthened their offensive capabilities. Japan intends to procure air tankers and renovated U.S. fighter planes, which apparently cannot be regarded as defensive weapons when their technological features are considered. As for the range of the Self-Defense Forces, it has already been expanded to 1,000 miles offshore. It has also been admitted recently that the maritime Self-Defense Forces may be deployed to the Persian Gulf area.

Regarding the three non-nuclear principles, there have been similar developments. The U.S. warships and nuclear-powered submarines equipped with nuclear weapons, including the Tomahawk cruise missiles, have called repeatedly at Japanese ports. The units capable of handling nuclear accidents are deployed at the Yokosuka and Sasebo naval bases. The deployment of the second squadron of F-16 fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons has already been completed at the Misawa airbase. Considerable other evidence indicates Japan's apparent violation of the three non-nuclear principles. Moreover, the United States has not stopped at turning Japan into its nuclear base. According to a Hong Kong paper, experts at the Pentagon, the U.S. Defense Department, have concluded after an analysis of trends in the Japanese Government's military policies that it is almost impossible for Japan to remain a nuclear-free country.

It certainly will not be necessary for us to point out again how dangerous such a policy is, as the Japanese peace forces are well aware. These people have been engaged in the struggle against the Japan-U.S. Security Pact that has brought Japan into the uncontrollable arms race, and the unified anti-war action day is an important step in this struggle. Furthermore, since this campaign is being held prior to another large-scale anti-war campaign known as the peace wave movement, the unified action day campaign is particularly significant. The peace wave movement will begin at noon [0300 GMT] 24 October at Hiroshima and spread to various places around the world.

Further on Amnesty to Japanese Fishermen

OW261343 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 24 Oct 87

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has adopted a decree of amnesty for Japanese fishermen in an effort to develop Soviet-Japanese relations and to mark the of the 70th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. These fishermen have either been punished for carrying out illegal fishing operations within Soviet waters in violation of Soviet territory or are under investigation for similar offenses.

On 23 October, Sergey Grigoryev, Khabarovsk Kray Soviet Foreign Affairs Administration chief, announced this in front of a prosecutor, reporters, and the 3 Japanese fishermen. These fishermen are Noboru Shimizubata, Masahiro Shimizubata, and Shigeaki Toyama from Hokkaido. They have been serving terms at a labor camp on the outskirts of Khabarovsk.

Noboru Shimizubata, skipper of *Tomi Maru*, made the following remarks: We have no complaints to make about the labor camp authorities. We have no bad feelings at all toward the Soviet people. We have been engaged in work assigned to us. In our free time we pursued our wood-cutting hobby. On behalf of the three of us, I would like to express our deep thanks for the

Soviet people's humanitarian and good treatment to us. I have realized that the Soviet people respect the Japanese people and hope for cooperation with them.

The three released Japanese fishermen pledged that they will never violate Soviet territory, nor will they conduct fishing operations secretly in Soviet territorial waters.

Amnesty, Relations Viewed

OW250624 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 23 Oct 87

[Antonov commentary]

[Text] As has been reported, the Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decree of amnesty for Japanese fishermen. In this connection, our commentator on foreign affairs Antonov says the following:

USSR-Japan relations have by no means been satisfactory lately. Recent incidents spoiled the general climate of relations between the two nations although the Soviet Union was not responsible. However, details of the incidents are known to everyone; I will therefore not mention them here.

Now is the time for us to ponder what is there to be done to lift the bilateral relations from the present status where they do not meet the interests of the two nations. The Soviet Union is prepared to follow its basic line for overall developments in relations with Japan by action, not by word. It is prepared to take constructive steps while expecting Japan to do the same.

For example, the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the USSR has adopted a decree of amnesty for Japanese fishermen as part of the celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The action is aimed at advancing USSR-Japanese relations. The fishermen have either been punished for territorial water violations and illegal fishing or under investigation for similar offenses. Under the decree, three fishermen—(Noboru Shimizubata), (Masahiro Shimizubata) and Shigeaki Toyama—will be released shortly from a labor camp near Khabarovsk. Two other fishermen, Michiyoshi Fujiya and Yuji Sakashita, currently under investigation on Shikotan Island, will also be released.

Despite the frequently reported violations of the Soviet territorial waters by Japanese fishermen, the Soviet Union has shown its goodwill through the amnesty. A Soviet Foreign Ministry announcement delivered to the Japanese Embassy on this matter on 22 October urged Japanese authorities to see to it that there will be no recurrence of such violations in the future.

In addition, the announcement emphasized Soviet expectations that this humanitarian, friendly act will be appreciated in Japan in an appropriate manner.

The step taken by the Soviet Union indicates Soviet desire to accelerate development of Soviet-Japanese relations for the benefits of the two countries and confirms constant Soviet readiness to build relations with Japan on the principle of good-neighborliness.

DPRK Calls for Jointly Sponsored Olympics

LD240511 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 23 Oct 87

[Text] Pyongyang October 23 TASS—Chairman of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Kim Yu-sun said that the question of jointly holding the 1988 Summer Olympics in the North and South of Korea cannot be resolved as long as the present regime exists in South Korea. At a press-conference here he urged the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to give an active support for the resumption of the talks between the IOC and representatives of the Olympic Committees of the DPRK and South Korea after a democratic authority is installed in the South as a result of presidential elections to be held there.

He noted in his statement that the lack of progress at the talks on joint holding of the 1988 games causes profound dissapointment and concern of the Korean people and other peoples. He noted that the Olympic Games should be held in the North and the South of Korea, and questions connected with its name, the composition of the organizing committee, the opening and closing ceremonies be decided. Kim Yu-Sun pointed out that in order to get off the ground the Lausanne talks of representatives of the IOC, DPRK and South Korea, the North advanced the proposal that competitions in several events be held in the DPRK. This made it possible to bring the positions closer and open prospects for reaching an arrangement.

But the South Korean side is striving to ensure that only a few competitions of secondary importance be held in the North and to create the impression that Pyongyang is just a provincial town of South Korea, he said. The United States also declared that it intends to "guarantee" the holding of the Olympics in Seoul and to increase for this purpose its military presence in South Korea and adjacent area. All this shows that efforts are made to use the Olympic Games for the antagonism of the North and the South. This stand resulted in South Korea's refusal from bilateral talks of representatives of the Olympic committees of the North and the South.

If representatives of the democratic forces come to power in South Korea as a result of the elections and if democratization of the South Korean society is achieved we could form a special team for the participation in the games or decide about jointly organizing the Olympics in the North and the South, he said. In these conditions it is desirable to put off the holding of bilateral talks of the national Olympic committees of the North and the South and of the fifth meeting in Lausanne with the participation of IOC until the results of the elections in

South Korea are known, the statement says. The joint organization of the 24th Olympic Games will make them a festival of peace and friendship with the participation of all states. The Olympic Committee of the DPRK expresses the confidence that everyone interested in the holding of the Olympic games will have understanding for the stand of the DPRK and will express solidarity with it, the statement says.

Soviet-Korean Friendship Month in DPRK

OW222357 Moscow in Korean to Korea 0930 GMT 17 Oct 87

[Viktorov commentary]

[Excerpts] As is widely known, the Korea-Soviet Friendship Month has started in People's Korea in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Viktorov makes the following remarks:

A ceremony was recently held at the Chollima Hall of Culture in Pyongyang to mark the opening of this month. At the ceremony, Chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries Yi Mong-ho stressed that the Great October Revolution opened a new era in human history, shifting from capitalism to socialism and encouraging the workers of the world to fight for national independence and liberation.

The ideology of the Great October Revolution—an ideology establishing a new, fair society which pays attention to the interest of workers on earth—has also been embodied in People's Korea. [passage omitted]

Marking the Korea-Soviet Friendship Month, radio stations plan to air various gala events and friendship gatherings with the Soviet Union. In addition, Soviet films will be shown, Soviet book and photo exhibitions held, and Korea art works displayed during the month. The Soviet Union and Korea have made diverse cooperation in the field of culture and art. They have thus accumulated rich experiences in this field.

The two countries have exchanged art groups, observed festivities jointly, and [words indistinct]. For example, the Korean people, who love paintings, have enjoyed appreciating various Soviet art exhibitions in Pyongyang. Those exhibitions have shown them various aspects of [word indistinct], of the Great Patriotic War, and of the Soviet Union as a peaceful nation. On the other hand, the Soviet people have appreciated works at Korea's formative arts exhibitions and picture shows. The [word indistinct] Russian People's Orchestra and the Aleksandrov Soviet Military Ensemble gave very successful performances in People's Korea. Actors from Ukrainian, Georgian, and other Soviet republics have played on the stages of various theaters in People's Korea.

Such consolidation of solidarity in the field of culture and art helps promote mental ties between the peoples of the two countries. When two countries maintain a truly friendly solidarity, it means that they understand and support each other's positions on various important issued, including international questions. The Soviet Union highly rates the efforts of People's Korea to create general conditions for reducing tension in the Korean Peninsula and unifying the nation on the principle of peace and democracy. The Soviet people support the noble struggle of workers in People's Korea to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, and guarantee peace and security in the Far East. On the other hand, the Korean people enthusiastically support Soviet leader Comrade Gorbachev's extensive plan, outlined in Vladivostok, to guarantee lasting peace and constructive cooperation in Asia and the Pacific region.

Our two countries are tied together firmly. It is a matter of the highest priority in Soviet policy to maintain and develop friendship with socialist countries. The Soviet people are satisfied with the successful development in friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Korean peoples. This friendship and cooperation has been reaffirmed while observing the current month of friendship. The Soviet workers have expressed their conviction that such friendship will develop in the future as well for the peoples of the two countries and for their common struggle to promote peace and socialism.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

MERDEKA Editor Publishes Book on Gorbachev

PM281155 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Name of the Future"]

[Text] Jakarta, 16 Oct—The *Merdeka* publishing house has published a book here in the Indonesian language by B.M. Diah, chief editor of the newspaper. The interview which M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave to Diah in July this year forms the basis of the book, called *"Laurels for a Journalist."*

M.S. Gorbachev's proposals put forward at the interview, the author of the book writes, are an ideal fusion and development of various principles established by the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against the old and new colonialism and for building a new world free from war, conflicts, clashes, and hostility among peoples in the name of achieving peace and cooperation. In speaking about the foundation of USSR foreign policy, the Soviet leader meant that any problems of the modern world, however complicated, cannot be solved by military means. This is natural inasmuch as the development of science and technology has brought mankind together, interdependence and common interests have arisen, and people have no choice but to cooperate. Setting out on this path, M.S. Gorbachev is conducting a policy in the name of the future.

Assessing the results of the conversation with the Soviet leader, Diah writes, the conclusion can be drawn on the similarity of the Indonesian and Soviet positions on world problems, which can become the basis for bilateral cooperation. Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja interpreted M.S. Gorbachev's interview as a fresh idea bringing new political impetus to the development of the situation in the Asian and Pacific region.

What the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said during the interview shows that the leadership of the Soviet Union is thinking in the spirit of the present time. Today, Diah stresses, one cannot think as 30-40 years ago; the new fresh thinking reflects mankind's desire for development. As for glasnost, this is open thinking. The policy of glasnost is developing swiftly, and its aim is to complete the democratization of Soviet society. The people are certainly satisfied with this policy. Restructuring is also being implemented consistently; its main aim is the elimination of bureaucratic obstacles in the Soviet Union's management mechanism.

Jakarta-Hanoi Talks on Cambodia 'Hopeful'

BK240316 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 23 Oct 87

[Text] The prospects of a resolution to the Cambodian problem have been more thoroughly discussed in Southeast Asian countries. Our correspondent (Vladimir Belosakov) reports from Jakarta as follows:

The Indonesian press regards the current situation as most hopeful. *The Jakarta Post* writes: Light has begun to shine at the end of the tunnel. A sign of progress in the process of settlement of the Cambodian problem politically is clearly seen now.

This has also been noted by the press of other ASEAN countries.

We wish to recall that in the statement issued by the PRK Government on 8 October there are a number of proposals on national reconciliation and building lasting peace throughout Cambodia. This statement also mentioned the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Army volunteers under the condition that there is no longer interference in the PRK's internal affairs.

In the ASEAN countries, one can clearly see the trend toward having good-neighborly relations with the Indo-Chinese states. Until today this relation has not developed favorably because of their different stand regarding Cambodia.

A new round of talks between Hanoi and Jakarta will be held at the end of October. As stated by Indonesian Foreign Minister Kusumaatmaja, the agreement on this talk was reached by the two sides during their last meeting in Ho Chi Minh City. This clearly attests to the good relationship that exists between Indonesia and Vietnam. The Indonesian foreign minister said that this relationship clearly proves that we are sincerely and actively making every effort to settle the Cambodian problem. It is this problem which will be raised for discussion in the future meeting, Indonesian Foreign Minister Kusumaatmaja concluded.

Philippine CP: U.S. Pressuring Government

LD261450 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 26 Oct 87

[Text] Manila October 26 TASS—TASS correspondent Sergey Almazov reports:

The United States continues to exert presure on the Corazon Aquino government of the Philippines with the aim to prevent the realization of a nuclear-free status proclaimed in the country's Constitution, to preserve its military bases in the archipelago and to force the Philippines to take rigorous measures against anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the country. This is pointed out in a statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines circulated here.

Washington is using the weakness of the Aquino government in its own interests. According to the statement, if the present administration proves to be unable to manage the country, the U.S. plans to support pro-American officers of the Philippine Armed Forces. In conditions of a political chaos a possibility of coming to power of a military or military-civilian junta cannot be totally ruled out. The statement said that the U.S. could stage a direct armed intervention in the Philippines under a pretext of the need for suppressing the insurgent movement.

In the setting of the latest developments and the activization of the offensive of right-wing groups the anti-imperialist and democratic movement in the Philippines should consolidate its unity in the struggle for democratic rights, to expose the role played by U.S. imperialism in the present-day political crisis, the statement pointed out.

'Hard To Predict' Outcome in Philippines

PM271047 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

["Commentator's Column" by Oleg Skalkin: "Struggle"]

[Text] In the Philippines matters have reached the point where the government has prepared to announce a state of emergency in the country. Disclosing this, Minister of National Defense Rafael Ileto explained that such a drastic measure may be implemented to preserve law and order in the country. A plan of action has been elaborated which President Corazon Aquino can use if necessary to defend the government from unconstitutional attacks by its opponents.

It is clear what has prompted these preparations. It is scarcely worth linking them, as the West has done, to the powerful trade union demonstrations which rocked Manila at the beginning of this week. The Philippine working people resorted to protest to demand an increase in the minimum wage and the implementation of the social reforms which had been promised them. Thus the aims of the strikes and demonstrations do not contradict the program goals of the president and her party. It is no accident that the Philippine trade unions, as K. Beltran [name as published], leader of one trade union center, stated, are ready to do everything possible to support C. Aquino's government against plots by right-wing forces. It is significant that the mass strikes and demonstrations took place in an organized and peaceful fashion.

Remember that President C. Aquino and her supporters came to power with plans for long-overdue progressive transformations in society. They included an agrarian reform, without which any kind of social progress in the country is impossible. Respect for the basic rights of the Filipinos was guaranteed. The sympathy expressed by C. Aquino for the idea of declaring the Philippines a nuclear-free zone raised great hopes. This policy received mass support in the parliamentary elections in May this year, bringing about C. Aquino's impressive victory.

But, as can be seen, in the Philippines' present conditions the voice of the people is still not the decisive force. The president's policy affected the interests and privileges of circles which consider themselves and themselves alone to be the masters of the country. Collaborating and maneuvering, they are laying siege, as it were, to Malacanang—the presidential palace in Manila. There have been 5 attempted military coups in the last 1 and 1/2 years. The latest was virtually openly "scheduled" for the end of last week.

Although the government survived, all the crises which the country has experienced are making their mark. A kind of erosion of state power is taking place, and the government is being pushed further and further to the right. Moreover, interference from external forces is more and more discernible. Many of the subversive actions of Philippine reaction would be inconceivable without support and inspiration from outside.

It is difficult to predict the outcome of the struggle going on now in the Philippines. But its very intensity already shows that the forces of reaction will try to hamper the course of the positive changes in the country. Only the Filipinos' determination to continue this process and not to back down in the face of the provocations of the right-wing forces can ensure the success of the progressive transformations.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov To Visit Iraq, Kuwait, Iran

Arrives in Baghdad

LD281938 Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, has arrived in Baghdad, the Iraqi capital. He is also to visit Kuwait and Iran.

A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said the aim of the tour is to aid the efforts of the United Nations' secretary-general in putting a stop to the Iran-Iraq war. The spokesman said the threat is real of the conflict expandding and the United States getting involved in it. This stems from the American striving to use the tensions in the region for stepping up U.S. military and political presence in the area.

Baghdad Talks 'Intensive'

LD291032 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—The tension in the Persian Gulf can only be defused by politico-diplomatic means, Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said today.

He described the current visit by Yuliy Vorontsov, a first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, to Iraq, Kuwait and Iran as a step in this direction.

Speaking in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent, Pyadyshev said the Soviet representative has begun "intensive, businesslike and serious" talks in Baghdad and would continue them in Kuwait and Tehran, making emphasis on the need to tap every possibility to fulfill the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 598.

Special attention would be given, Pyadyshev continued, to supporting the peace-making mission of U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The issue of a Middle East settlement in a broad context would certainly feature at the Soviet deputy foreign minister's talks as well, he said.

Vorontsov's recent trip to Egypt, Syria and Jordan had shown that the idea of a Middle East settlement by dint of an international conference was readily welcomed in those countries, Pyadyshev remarked, adding that Arab representatives had said in no uncertain terms that there was simply no other way out.

It had been felt keenly during the trip, Pyadyshev said, that the policy of Israel and the United States on a Middle East settlement had no sympathy in the Persian Gulf countries and was in some cases sharply criticized.

U.S. 'Imposing' Economic Pressure on Iran

NC281332 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Text] U.S. President Reagan has signed a decree completely restricting purchases of goods from Iran and banning the export of various U.S. products to Iran. Our commentator, Igor Sheftunov, writes:

Washington has decided to complete its anti-Iranian military acts by imposing economic and commercial pressures on Iran. As we know, the United States tried in 1980—immediately after formation of the Islamic Republic of Iran—to organize an economic and commercial siege on Iran. At that time, the White House forced its Western allies to follow in its footsteps. The united imperialists intended to impose their will on the Iranian people and to revive the positions of the Western monopolies and of the U.S. military apparatus, which meddled in Iran during the shah's rule. But the economic-commercial siege failed. Iran expanded its economic relations with socialist and developing countries as a result and thus thwarted this policy. At that time, the signing of an agreement between Iran and the Soviet Union, which placed its territory at Iran's disposal for the transit of Iranian cargo, was of great importance.

Presently, the U.S. Administration intends, with its economic and commercial sanctions against Iran, first and foremost to strike at the main pillar of Iran's economy: oil. Washington has banned exporting to Iran necessary installations and equipment for the Iranian oil industry, in a bid to hinder Iran's repairing oil installations which were destroyed because of the U.S. Armed Forces' aggressions and the Iran-Iraq war. Meanwhile, the White House has also announced a halt in purchases of Iranian oil. Before this, the purchase of Iranian agricultural and other products had been restricted.

The Western press writes that these anti-Iranian acts by the United States should force Iran to yield to Washington's wishes. Meanwhile, many U.S. politicians express pessimism on how fruitful Reagan's decision will be. This is a very principled pessimism. After all, a country that wants to adopt an independent and national policy today can depend on support from socialist and other progressive countries, and the potential for such support is increasing. The recent visit by Aqazadeh, Iran's petroleum minister, and the discussions on expansion of economic relations between the two countries in various fields, and specifically in the field of oil, have opened wide vistas in Soviet-Iranian cooperation. Iran's economic relations with many other socialist countries and with developing countries are growing. All these help to strengthen Iran's positions with regard to the U.S. economic pressure.

Palestinian Delegation Visits Soviet Union

JN281600 Doha QNA in Arabic 1450 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Damascus, 28 Oct (QNA)—It was announced here today that the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP] and the USSR have affirmed the need to stop the Iraq-Iran war and implement Security Council Resolution No 598 with all of its articles. They also affirmed that foreign fleets should move out of the Gulf region and be replaced by UN forces. This came during a round of talks held in Moscow today between a DFLP delegation led by Secretary General Nayif Hawatimah and a delegation from the Soviet Foreign Ministry led by Gennadiy Tarasov, deputy chief of the Middle East Countries Department.

A statement on the talks disributed by the DFLP Central Information Office says that during the talks, the Palestinian side affirmed the PLO's and many Arab countries' determination to make the emergency Arab summit a success. They are also determined that tangible decisions be made to call for an international conference to find a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East crisis.

Nayif Hawatimah arrived in Moscow yesterday on a visit that will last several days.

Jordan Steers 'Balanced Course' in Near East

PM281221 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 87 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Y. Glukhov dispatch: "Eye of the Typhoon"; boldface passages as published]

[Excerpt] Amman, October—[passage omitted] The Jordanian front is the extensive and perhaps the most convenient for Tel Aviv's aggressive sorties. They have created a powerful military bridgehead on occupied Palestinian lands. Exerting pressure on Amman and counting on pushing it on to the path of separate deals like Camp David, the West is deliberately trying to preserve Jordan's increased vulnerability to armed blackmail. It is no coincidence that U.S. Congress has blocked shipments of antiaircraft weapons to it.

Jordan, under the leadership of King Husayn, is maneuvering its own way through the stormy sea of Near Eastern events. Without breaking with the West, Amman is attempting to steer a balanced course, cooperating with various Arab countries and with socialist states. Thus, Jordan has normalized relations with Syria. While offering active support to Baghdad in the Iran-Iraq conflict, Amman is also acting as a go-between in removing Syrian-Iraqi differences. At the same time, after being the first Arab country to unilaterally adopt a decision to boycott Al-Sadat's Egypt, it has reestablished diplomatic relations with Cairo.

Relations between Jordan and the PLO are developing in a complex, zigzag fashion. In 1970-1971, fierce Jordanian-Palestinian clashes occurred, as a result of which the Palestinians' armed presence on the country's territory was eliminated. But in 1974 at the Rabat summit conference, Jordan, along with other Arab states, admitted that the PLO is the only legal representative of the Palestinian people.

After the Israeli attack on Lebanon in 1982 and evacuation of the Palestinian headquarters from Beirut, a new round of rapprochement between the PLO leadership and Amman began. However, the session of the Palestine National Council (parliament) held in the Jordanian capital in 1984, which boycotted many Palestinian organizations, split the Palestinian ranks. The Amman agreement that concluded in February 1985 between Y. 'Arafat, leader of the PLO, and King Husayn of Jordan also aroused sharp criticism. Its provisions concerning a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation at the international talks on a Near East settlement and a confederation of Jordan and Palestine were seen as a renunciation of Palestinians' inalienable rights. The Amman agreement was denounced by the recent session in Algiers of the Palestine National Council, and a crisis ensued in relations between Jordan and the PLO.

Amman has its own approach to the Palestinian problem. After the first Arab-Israeli war, and until their occupation by Tel Aviv in 1967, part of the Palestinian lands—the West Bank of the Jordan and East Jerusalem—were under Jordan's control, and 60% of the country's population are Palestinian. Eleven Palestinian refugee camps are located on its territory.

The Palestinians take an active part in local political life as they do in no other country. One-half of the seats in the Jordanian Parliament have been assigned to inhabitants of the occupied West Bank of the Jordan, and one seat has been allotted to each refugee camp. People of Palestinian origin occupy many senior state posts.

Amman views as a real threat one of the projects nurtured by Israeli ruling circles for "resolving" the Palestinian problem, namely expulsion of Palestinians, their ousting from the West Bank of the Jordan to the East. Not only military means are being used to achieve this. The occupied lands are also being suffocated economically. Jordanian Ministry of Planning materials point out that from 1967 through 1984 some 275,000 Palestinians were forced to leave their homeland in search of work. In an effort to oppose this, Jordan came up with a promising plan for developing the occupied regions.

However, most Palestinian organizations regard Jordanian wardship of Palestinians' interests with suspicion and caution. They voice fears that a situation may arise as a result, whereby the Palestinian people's legitimate right to create their own state will remain unrealized.

For its part, Amman stresses the disinterested nature of the Jordanian approach.

"We are committed to achieving a permanent peace," T. al-Masri, Jordanian minister of foreign affairs, says. "It must be just and all-embracing. We cannot accept a peace by Israeli standards. The USSR initiative with regard to an international conference on a Near East settlement is an urgent necessity. Jordan has always favored convening such a forum.

"An important factor is the support of the Soviet Union," T. al-Masri says. "The history of the past 20 years has shown that Arab-Soviet relations have profound roots and a stable foundation. There are ups and downs in their development and differences of approach, which is natural, but genuine friendship also exists. The noncoincidence of viewpoints is not reflected in our feelings toward the USSR, which is our honest and mighty ally."

...Leaving the Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs building, you immediately plunge into the measured life of the city. The sky is clear above Amman, calm and cloudless. They say it is quiet in the center, in the "eye" of the typhoon. This is the center of the Near Eastern storm. The clouds of Israeli occupation have become even thicker over the West Bank of the Jordan and other Palestinian lands. They may erupt in a new military storm, unless the atmosphere is not defused.

Consulate Reopened in Egypt's Port Sa'id

LD281846 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Port Sa'id October 28 TASS—A USSR Consulate has officially resumed its work in Port Sa'id, a big Mediterranean city of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

Mohammed Sami Hudayr, governor of Port Sa'id, described this event in a TASS interview as a new major step on the way of a further consolidation of Egyptian-Soviet relations. He said that the Egyptian people remembered well the selfless assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to Egypt when it was repulsing the aggression. The USSR invariably extended a helping hand. As a sign of gratitude Port Sa'id became a twinned city of the Soviet City of Volgograd. Its residents named one of the main streets of Port Sa'id after Volgograd. In peace time the USSR has been continually rendering assistance to Egypt.

The Governor of Port Sa'id expressed hope that the resumption of the work of Soviet consulates in Alexandria and Port Sa'id would open up a new period in the development of cooperation and would promote the consolidation of friendship between Egypt and the USSR.

Correction to Israeli Satellite Project Report

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Nature of Israeli Satellite Project Viewed," published in the 27 October Soviet Union *Daily Report*, pp 30-31:

Page 31, second paragraph, line 15: ...the intelligence information while continuing to flaunt... (providing missing word "while")

East Europe

Upcoming Polish Economic Reforms Viewed

PM281407 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent O. Losoto dispatch: "Poland, Fall 1987.Second Stage of Economic Reform Coming Up Next"]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct—Among the many different events taking place in the life of present-day Poland, two will undoubtedly occupy an important place.

The PZPR Central Committee Plenum which took place a few days ago discussed the tasks of the party in implementing the second stage of economic reform. The Polish Sejm has begun its examination of the program presented by the government. The basic directions of the transformations in the Polish economy implemented in accordance with the decisions of the 10th party congress have been approved.

In his concluding speech at the plenum, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, assessing highly the historic achievements of socialism in Poland, noted that, unfortunately, sometimes real progress was blocked by various dogmatic theories and barriers made up of prescriptions and slogans which were often a cover for inertia and the absence of any connection with life.

As is well-known, the economic reform has been under way in Poland for 6 years now. During this time a lot has been achieved. Enterprises have become independent. The role of labor collectives has grown. Substantial changes in the material base of the economy have taken place. Despite the difficult conditions, the precrisis level of industrial production has been restored and exceeded. The farmers have obtained good results. The situation has improved in the domestic market, particularly with regard to foodstuffs. Real wages are growing, and social security is improving. The dimensions of Poland's participation in international economic cooperation are gradually being restored. Poland is actively developing trade ties with the capitalist countries despite restrictions and various sanctions on the part of the West. Its relations with the socialist states are developing intensively. Considerable valuable experience making it possible to take another step in implementing qualitative changes in the economy has been accumulated.

Of course, not all the problems have been solved. This was said openly at the Central Committee Plenum and in the report by Z. Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, in the Sejm. It has not been possible, for example, to ensure economic equilibrium, which has weakened the effectiveness of the new economic mechanisms, has necessitated the employment of a quota system, and has exacerbated inflation. The uneven introduction of the reform both in different spheres of the economy and at different levels of management has been a significant hindrance. Thus the necessity has arisen to give the economic reform new impetus. Its second stage is the fulfillment of the party's strategic course of accelerating qualitative changes.

What mechanisms and processes will be activated in the economy's restructuring? The main aim is the creation of stable material and systemic foundations for satisfying the population's demands more fully and improving the quality of services. A comprehensive restructuring of the management system geared to developing collective and individual enterprise, creating conditions for more productive, efficient, and better organized work, lending the economy dynamic, innovative features, and making maximum use of benefits resulting from participation in the international division of work is envisaged in this connection.

It should be noted that the upcoming changes are not an amendment of the existing mechanisms, but a significant and in certain spheres radical change in them. The government program for implementing the second stage of reform covers tasks which have to be fulfilled before 1990. The majority of them will be dealt with in the next 2 years.

The change in the functions and structures of the state administration's central organs is one of the most important problems to which the attention of the country's public is riveted. Sixteen will be abolished and eight new central organs will be formed. The basic factor here, of course, is not the quantitative reorganization of the ministries, for example, but the functional and structural changes in the management system to ensure that it better accords with the interests of society.

The program envisages three directions of action. First there are measures to balance the national economy. Ensuring the conditions for developing enterprise and innovation in all sectors of the economy will be the main factor in raising labor productivity and improving output quality. Ensuring the complete independence of enterprises and their direct responsibility for the final results is envisaged in the state sector.

Formal and administrative obstacles to developing economic initiative will be eliminated. Encouraging the creation of new small economic units is foreseen in the socialized sector.

The most important direction is technical and organizational progress and the improvement of the process of capital investment and the use of fixed capital. The program envisages a closer tie with science and economic practice. In particular, it is proposed to expand the financing of innovative activity actually at enterprises. Conditions for moving cadres between individual spheres of science and also between science and practice will be created.

The third direction is the development of international cooperation. The pricing system in the foreign trade sphere will undergo restructuring. The principles and conditions for using foreign currency, its turnover, and also principles for granting the right to conduct foreign trade are being liberalized. The procedure for forming joint-stock companies with the participation of foreign capital is being simplified. The scale of foreign currency self-financing of enterprises will be expanded.

The government intends to modify the planning system. The financial plan will become an important part of the annual plan, which will permit material and financial tasks to be coordinated more efficiently. It has been decided to implement a restructuring of the banking system.

The fundamental changes also concern the sphere of managing material production. Instead of several sectorial departments, a Ministry of Industry responsible for all the industrial sectors and their structural reforms is being created. At the same time, taking into account the specifics and particular significance for the economy of the mining industry and energy, the government has suggested creating "Polish Coal" and "Polish Energy" associations.

The policy in the sphere of prices and incomes deserves particular attention. As was observed at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the restructuring of the prices and incomes system must be used to raise the economy's efficiency and increase labor productivity. No unexpected changes in prices are envisaged without consultation with the public.

Of course, the best economic models and mechanisms, it was noted at the plenum, will not produce results without the people's support. Activating the human factor is an important link in the reform. A lot still remains to be done here. As data from the Center for the Study of Public Opinion show, the population's knowledge of the reforms that are being implemented is still clearly insufficient. Moreover, it should also be taken into account, our friends note, that the second stage of reform has to be fulfilled in economic conditions which are still difficult.

At the end of November a nationwide referendum will be conducted in Poland on questions of the second stage of the economic reform. As we can see, the radical transformations begun here in Poland are part of a broad and profound process of social renewal and democratization.

Orzechowski on Peaceful Western Border

PM291009 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "M. Orzechowski Speech"]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Oct—The 65th anniversary of the formation of the Union for the Defense of the Western Territories and the Union of Poles in Germany and the 30th anniversary of the Society for the Development of the Western Territories provided the themes of an all-Poland meeting held in Poznan and organized by the main board of the Wisla-Odra Society.

The meeting was addressed by M. Orzechowski, Polish foreign minister, who dwelt in detail on questions of Polish-GDR and Polish-FRG relations. Poland, he stated, fully appreciates the historic significance of the creation of the GDR—a state which has fundamentally repudiated the evil traditions of the German past. Poland's western border has become a border of peace and friendship.

Poland's relations with the FRG, in contrast to its relations with the GDR, remain complex. We regard the state of their normalization as unsatisfactory. The main cause and ultimate source of the difficulties in bilateral relations is the stance taken by the FRG on the problem of the political and territorial arrangement in Europe, a delicate problem for the stabilization of the situation and of peace on the continent, of which Poland's western border is an integral part. The FRG's strategic goal, which has been promoted to the rank of a constitutional requirement, is still the alteration of the political and territorial status quo formed in Europe on the basis of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, which is designed to pave the way to the new unification of Germany. Chancellor H. Kohl's government has centered its policy on the allegedly open "German problem," as it is called. It has tried to place it on the European political agenda once more. The thesis of the continuous legal "existence of the German Reich within the 1937 borders," a thesis fundamental to the so-called "German legal doctrine," is being pursued more vigorously than before. Attempts are being made to devalue the FRG's treaties with Poland and the other socialist countries.

It is these doctrines and interpretations which give rise to the theories about the imaginary German national minority of over 1 million people living in Poland. It is those theories along with other facts which are such a heavy burden on the fabric of bilateral relations. We see a clear duplicity and discrepancy in the stance taken by FRG official circles. On the one hand, they declare their desire to overcome the tragic past while on the other official representatives of the FRG Government and the ruling parties, addressing various events by the so-called "expellees," openly call into question the definitive character of Poland's state borders and support revanchist demands. Nor can we fail to notice that thanks to its increasingly strong position in NATO and the EEC, the

FRG is trying to involve its allies in the game it is playing with regard to Central Europe. Actions like that create a bad atmosphere, distrust, and a loss of confidence in relations between Poland and the FRG and slow down the process of reaching agreement. Polish society is becoming increasingly convinced of a lack of truthfulness in the declarations issuing from the other side of the Elbe.

To ignore or belittle the significance of these phenomena would be evidence of a lack of political responsibility and an unpardonable error from the viewpoint of the vital interests of Poland, the socialist community, and the entire European community. This requires consistent, wise, and multifaceted activity on the part of the leadership, government, official organs, and social organizations in Poland, M. Orzechowski pointed out. In this connection he noted that Poland is prepared to continue the process of normalizing bilateral relations and to develop mutually beneficial cooperation in accordance with the Treaty on the bases for the normalization of relations concluded between Poland and the FRG in 1970.

Honecker-Ceausescu Talks in Bucharest

LD282319 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest October 28 TASS—General secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu today received here general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, president of the State Council of the GDR, Erich Honecker, staying on an official friendly visit in Romania.

Traditional relations of friendship between the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, between the two countries and peoples were noted at a meeting held in a comradely atmosphere. The sides emphasized that cooperation between Romania and the GDR is of dynamic nature and is aimed at enhancing the prosperity of the fraternal peoples, strengthening socialism and building communist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker discussed some questions of the international situation, pointed to the need for curbing the arms race, for disarmament, for the elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe and the whole world.

Solovyev Receives GDR Admiral

PM291033 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 87 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Friendly Conversation in Smolnyy Institute"]

[Text] Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, received Admiral Wilhelm Ehm, GDR deputy minister of national defense and commander of the GDR People's Navy, in the Smolnyy Institute yesterday. He is heading a detachment of the fraternal country's warships which has come to our city on a reciprocal official friendly visit.

During the conversation the fruitful development of cooperation between the CPSU and the SED and between the peoples of the two countries and strengthening military cooperation among the Warsaw Pact participant states was noted with satisfaction.

Yu.F. Solovyev told of the labor achievements with which the people of Leningrad are meeting the 70th anniversary of Great October and of the Leningrad party organization's work to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the "Intensification-90" program. Implementing the party's course to accelerate economic and social development is the logical continuation of the socialist revolution. Now that little time remains until the national holiday, the indissoluble link between the times, the great force of the continuity of the glorious revolutionary traditions, are felt particularly profoundly and visibly.

The admiral cordially congratulated the working people of Leningrad and the oblast on the approaching Great October jubilee and expressed thanks for the warm reception given to the GDR naval seamen. He stated that the ships' visit to the city of the great Lenin will serve to further deepen fraternal relations between the GDR and the USSR and to strengthen cooperation between their navies which vigilantly stand guard over socialist gains.

H.Bauer, GDR consul general in Leningrad, and Admiral V.A. Samoylov, commander of the Red Banner Leningrad naval base, took part in the conversation.

SFRY Anti-inflation Program Assessed

PM281543 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Oct 87 p 3

[TASS report: "Stabilizing the Economy"]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Oct—B. Mikulic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, has delivered a report at a session of both chambers of the SFRY Federal Assembly on a program of measures elaborated by the government to stabilize the Yugoslav economy. This program envisages a number of measures to combat inflation, reduce the foreign debt, and improve credit, financial, and fiscal policy.

The head of government stated that the current level of inflation, which has exceeded 100%, reflects the depth of the crisis in the Yugoslav economy and its numerous shortcomings, which have accumulated over the years. According to him, one reason for this situation was Yugoslavia's foreign debt, which sharply increased in the seventies. Moreover more than one-half of the foreign

credits were not sensibly used. The country now needs to spend annually nearly half its foreign currency income or nearly 10% of the global social product on paying off the foreign debt.

The Federal Executive Council believes that the key question in any program to combat inflation and stabilize the economy as a whole is to impart dynamism to economic development.

Vorotnikov Receives Romanian Ambassador

LD290205 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2220 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Comrade Vorotnikov received the Romanian ambassador to the USSR on 28 October. A friendly conversation took place, during which several issues of Soviet-Romanian cooperation were dealt with.

Cooperation Commission Meets in Sofia

LD290918 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] The 31st session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Bulgarian Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation took place in Sofia 26-28 October. The course of implementing the accords on the most important issues of cooperation, attained at talks between Comrade Ryzhkov and Atanasov, chairmen of the USSR and Bulgarian Councils of Ministers, was reviewed. The commission noted that these accords are being fulfilled. The Soviet delegation at the session was headed by Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Bulgarian delegation by Lukanov, Bulgaria's minister for foreign economic relations.

Mining Agreement Signed With GDR

LD282242 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1146 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, 28 Oct 87 (ADN)—A bilateral government agreement on cooperation in the construction of a mining and processing combine for oxide ores in Krivoy Rog (USSR) was signed in Moscow Wednesday by Minister of Foreign Trade Dr Gerhard Beil, and Kurt Singhuber, minister of ore mining, metallurgy, and potash, and by Konstantin Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and USSR Ferrous Metallurgy Minister Serafim Kolpakov.

The GDR will participate in this important integration project in the Soviet Union by supplying equipment and engineering services, and will receive long-term supplies of ferruginous raw materials.

This investment project is another example of the advantages of deepend socialist economic integration.

In addition, Dr Gerhard Beil and Konstantin Katushev discussed further cooperation between the countries in the construction of industrial and other projects in the period up to the year 2000.

Dr Kurt Singhuber and Serafim Kolpakov discussed the next tasks in deepening scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in the field of ferrous metallurgy.

Further Report

LD282235 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—The GDR's organizations will participate in building a mining and agglomeration works in Krivoy Rog (Ukraine). This is provided for by an inter-government agreement signed in Moscow today. By 1992 partners from the GDR will build several production facilities as well as social and services establishments and will supply equipment for the agglomeration complex. When the works is put into operation, the GDR will annually receive some 400,000 tons of iron pellets for 10 years. The Krivoy Rog works is one of the biggest projects of multilateral cooperation between CMEA member countries. Czechoslovakia and Romania also participate in its construction.

West Europe

Kovalev Meets Netherlands Ministry Official

PM291137 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Political consultations were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 19-20 October with H. Wijnaendts, general director of the Netherlands Foreign Ministry, who was received by and had a conversation with A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and also met with the leadership of a number of USSR Foreign Ministry departments and administrations.

Waldheim Interviewed on Austrian National Day

PM291031 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 p 3

[Interview with Austrian President K. Waldheim by own correspondent Y. Popov: "Resolving Problems at the NegotiatingTable"; date of interview not specified; first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] Vienna—On the eve of the Austrian national holiday—the day of the proclamation of the policy of complete neutrality—our correspondent Y. Popov conducted an interview with Austrian Federal President K. Waldheim.

[Waldheim] The history of the signing of the state treaty was not simple. Ten years elapsed after the end of World War II before complete consensus was reached between the allied powers and Austria on all the details of this document, which is most important for our country. Finally "the finishing touches were put to it," so to speak, on 15 May 1955.

As I have already said, painstaking, intense work begun in 1943, when the allied powers of the anti-Hitler coalition signed the Moscow declaration on Austria, preceded this event of historic importance for our country. The declaration, in particular, clearly recorded that Austria was the first free country to become the victim of Nazi aggression. This meant that after the end of the war Austria must once again be an independent democratic country. Thus the Austrian Republic's current course was already predetermined then.

The next landmark on the way to establishing an independent and democratic Austria was the signing in April 1955 of the "Moscow memorandum," which took place in the course of a visit to Moscow by an Austrian delegation headed by the then Chancellor Raab and Vice Chancellor Schaerf. The "Moscow memorandum" was the key to the state treaty concerning an independent democratic Austria and the law adopted a few months later concerning our republic's permanent neutrality.

I want to stress here the great role which the Soviet Union played in resolving these tasks of vital importance for our people. The USSR's constructive participation in resolving them laid the foundations for our friendship and development of good-neighborly contacts between the USSR and Austria.

The law on permanent neutrality adopted 26 October 1955 became henceforth the basis of our foreign policy and turned Austria into an equal partner whose political prestige and importance are today acknowledged throughout the world. Despite the fact that we are a country with a Western ideology, from the moment that the republic was established after the war, Austria has endeavored to build good-neighborly relations both with Western and Eastern neighbors and play a constructive role in international affairs. It is like a connecting link between East and West.

Both today and in the future, Austria will strive for further development of its friendly relations with all states of the world, including the USSR and other socialist countries. We have every reason to do this. We are profoundly convinced that any conflict and any very complex international problems can and must be resolved at the negotiating table, and not by force of arms.

Austrian Businessmen Received by Aristov

LD290016 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—Long-standing trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Austria are based on sound grounds, but there are still quite a number of untapped opportunities for their expansion, said Boris Aristov, USSR minister of foreign trade. Today he received a delegation of the Austrian business community, completing its stay in Moscow.

The minister noted that the sides have to step up joint efforts to boost mutual goods turnover and draw into it greater numbers of participants by using both traditional and new forms of business partnership. Along with the development of cooperated relations, cooperation on the compensatory basis and establishment of joint ventures, it is necessary, among other things, to boost Danube trade.

At present, Boris Aristov said, some 140 proposals of Austrian firms on new forms of cooperation were handed over for the consideration of Soviet organizations. All of them will be thoroughly examined and studied.

Speaking of the reorganization of the entire economic mechanism in the USSR, including foreign economic relations, the minister pointed out that extensive work was under way to train skilled personnel. For instance, it is planned to open business schools which will invite foreign lecturers and specialists, including those from Austria.

Philipp von Schoeller, head of the delegation of Austrian businessmen and chairman of the Industry Section of the Federal Economic Chamber of Austria, noted in his speech that members of the business community of his country intended to deepen mutually advantageous cooperation with Soviet partners and to promote actively an increase in goods turnover. This is corroborated by several interesting proposals by Austrian firms handed over to the Soviet side.

Military Inspectors Arrive in FRG 28 Oct

LD291053 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—In keeping with the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the Soviet Government on October 26 asked the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for a visit by a group of Soviet military inspectors to observe military activities in its territory.

After being granted permission, the group arrived in the FRG on October 28 and began the inspection.

Fiat Official Views Soviet Auto Industry

PM281419 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Oct 87 Second Edition p 3

[A. Golyayev dispatch: "Robots Above the Conveyor Belt: Reportage from West Europe's Biggest Auto Plant"]

[Text] Rome—[passage omitted]...We held a conversation about cooperation between our countries with Ermando Pedrana, a director of Fiat, who is in charge of

liaison with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

"We have found in the Soviet Union," he said, "a worthy partner from which there is plenty for us to learn. The creation of the Volga Truck Plant in Tolyatti is perhaps the most graphic example of our cooperation. We calculated it would have a capacity of 600,000 vehicles a year, but Soviet specialists have managed to increase this to 700,000 without any deterioration in quality. Moreover, certain vehicle components have been modified in Tolyatti, and we have adopted some of this experience here at Fiat."

[Question] Signor Pedrana, you worked for many years in the Soviet Union and are well aware of the state of affairs in the Soviet automotive industry. What is your opinion of the prospects for developing cooperation between Fiat and the USSR?

[Answer] I would like to stress right away that Fiat is a traditional partner of the USSR. But now we are looking for new forms of cooperation. It is perhaps a good idea to examine the question of setting up an enterprise with joint capital. I think that Fiat and the USSR have good grounds for this, especially in the sphere of excavation and mining equipment. I stress that we are talking about a new form of cooperation: We have worked pretty well in the past, but we can't stand still. We must go forward.

"Not long ago," E. Pedrana said, "Fiat proposed concluding a contract with the Soviet side to create a new automobile motor. We were turned down. But we were not surprised. By all accounts, the question you asked in the Soviet Union was: Surely in 1987 we are capable of creating a new high-quality motor ourselves? Your specialists were instructed to do just that. This way of seeing the question is only natural, in our view."

[Question] How do you view the problems in the Soviet economy: What needs to be restructured and changed, in your view?

[Answer] So-called "vertical information," that is to say, information within a single ministry or department, is well-organized in the USSR. But "horizontal information"—information among ministries—breaks down. But, as far as we can see, the USSR has now taken steps to rectify the situation. I would like to pursue my thoughts on cooperation here....

E. Pedrana outlined his ideas, explaining them in the following terms: "As you can see, there have been several 'qualitative leaps,' as they are conventionally called, in the history of the Soviet automotive industry. The building of the Volga Truck Plant, when various Zhiguli models appeared on Soviet roads, was one such leap. But each qualitative leap has been determined by contacts between the Soviet side and Western firms.

"I think that these are disappearing features. We, like the Soviet side, have an interest in ensuring that our relations are not characterized by leaps but are more stable in nature. There are some things that we find difficult to understand," the Italian businessman continued. "For example, why does an engineer at a Soviet enterprise receive the same, say, as a tramdriver—much as we respect that job? Who is going to take responsibility if the only prospect is brickbats from the boss? I would offer a final piece of 'business advice' to your specialists: Greater standardization is needed in the Soviet auto industry. As far as I am aware, every auto plant in your country produces its own motor. Why not develop a 'family' of motors and manufacture several modified versions?"

On the way back to Rome, along the Autostrada del Sole, which runs from the north to the south of the Apennine Peninsula, we stopped at a gas station. The attendant peered for a long time at the Foreign Press Association sticker on the windscreen.

"You're journalists? Where are you from?"

"The Soviet Union."

"I don't think I've ever seen a Soviet before! But I read a lot: There is a lot written about your country now. Everyone is interested in what is happening there. Best of luck and bon voyage!"

Turkey's Evren Signs Amended Election Law

PM291115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "Law on Elections in Turkey"]

[Text] Ankara, 21 Oct—Turkish President K. Evren has signed the election law adopted by the Meclisi (parliament) last Saturday.

As already announced, the Meclisi held this emergency session after the Constitutional Court deemed one of the articles of the election law adopted by the Meclisi last month and guaranteeing the Motherland Party definite advantages to be null and void. The law envisages holding parliamentary elections 1 November.

The new version of the law contains a number of changes. First, the date of the elections has been shifted to 29 November 1987. Second, the article which aroused the indignation of the Constitutional Court has been amended. Now the question of whether or not to hold preliminary elections of candidate deputies from party lists is left to the discretion of the parties themselves. Third, almost 2 million citizens who boycotted the referendum on the current constitution in 1982 and were deprived of the right to vote for 5 years are to be allowed to participate in the elections.

Maltese Laborites Make Brief Moscow Visit

PM251303 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Friendly Visit"]

[Text] A Malta Labor Party delegation consisting of M.B. Karmenu, the party's general secretary, and L. Brincat, secretary for international affairs, visited Moscow 12-13 October 1987. The delegation had a meeting with V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department. Questions of strengthening bilateral relations between the CPSU and the Malta Labor Party were discussed during the talks, as well as some urgent questions of the international situation, including the situation in the Mediterranean.

Latin America & Caribbean

Lessons of Cuban Missile Crisis Reviewed

PM290941 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Oct 87 First Edition p 3

[Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Borisov article: "At the Fateful Brink. What the Lessons of the 'Caribbean Crisis' Teach Us"]

[Text] One October evening in 1962, a middle-aged man in heavy horn-rims came out of the White House service entrance and, involuntarily quickening his step, crossed the garden to the awaiting limousine. Many years later this man, former U.S. Defense Secretary R. McNamara, recalled how, on his way to the Pentagon, running over the events of the last few hours in his mind, he thought with horror that he might not live to see the next Saturday evening....

The very acute international crisis which flared up exactly 25 years ago in the Caribbean brought the world right to the brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe. "Mankind looked into the nuclear muzzle," R. Kennedy, brother of the U.S. President and a prominent figure in his administration, concluded in his book *"Thirteen Days,"* devoted to these dramatic events.

How come mankind found itself at the fateful brink? What can we learn from what happened?

If you believe bourgeois political scientists, the fact that the Soviet Union allegedly violated the "rules of the game" by offering support to revolutionary Cuba, including supplying it with missiles for self-defense purposes, is to blame for everything. It thereby allegedly provoked Washington's retaliatory actions. But if you do not confuse cause and effect, then the roots of the "Caribbean crisis," like many other seats of tension in the world both past and present, lie in Washington's imperial ambitions and in its rejection of peoples' sacred right to live as they see fit, or, as the Americans themselves sometimes wittily remark, in the U.S. desire "to keep a finger in every pie."

The people's revolution on Cuba, which threw off the country's humiliating dependence on the "northern giant," provoked a sensitive reaction in Washington: naturally, as it was a question of insubordination in a zone of "indisputable" U.S. supremacy only some 90 miles from U.S. shores. Everything started with this. The regime of Fidel Castro, so people in the White House thought, had to disappear in order not to contaminate other peoples in Latin America with the spirit of free-thinking.

The rest is well known. Plots, provocations, economic boycott, diplomatic isolation, and preparation of armed intervention—everything was put into play against the freedom-loving people. The failure of the mercenaries' attack on Playa Giron in April 1961, organized and implemented with active support from the United States, did not make the requisite impression on Washington. It began to plan direct American action against Cuba. The only arguments were about the choice of a specific scenario. Some things leaked into the open press. *The New York Times*, for example, reported 2 October: "Growing numbers of Congressmen (a long list of names followed—A.B.) are among those urging President Kennedy to take unilateral actions against Cuba, which may easily lead to war."

Thus the cause of the conflict has nothing to do with the Soviet Union, which, pursuing its international duty and viewing with understanding the Cuban people's right to independence, offered them aid in strengthening the country's defense capability. By the way, by that time the United States had surrounded the Soviet Union with a tight circle of military bases and a network of military blocs. Dozens of U.S. missiles with nuclear warheads were targeted on the Soviet Union from various geographical directions. In Turkey alone, according to U.S. data, there were 15 Jupiter class missiles. But people in Washington, apparently, thought that their own security was one thing, and other people's security was something quite different.

Typically, in early September the Soviet Government, alarmed by the draft of 150,000 reservists into the U.S. Armed Forces, tried to defuse the Caribbean situation and asked the U.S. Government to be prudent, not to lose its self-possession, and to normalize relations with Cuba. It was emphasized that in this case "the need for Cuba to strengthen its defense capability and its Armed Forces would disappear." But people in Washington preferred to choose a confrontational course and began kindling an international crisis.

Recently declassified minutes from meetings of a group of top Kennedy administration leaders give some idea of how it developed. The 16 October session in the White

House, for example, considered various scenarios for inflicting air strikes on Cuba and organizing armed intervention against it. R. McNamara noted at the session that "it is a question not of 20 or 50 aircraft missions, but of 100, maybe several hundred missions." In the course of this discussion, having heard the speeches of the "hawks" coldbloodedly manipulating human lives, including the lives of Americans themselves, Attorney General R. Kennedy passed a note across the table to the president's closest adviser, T. Sorensen: "Now I understand what Tojo felt when he was preparing Pearl Harbor." The analogy was quite appropriate, with just one difference; now the United States was intending to act in the role of aggressor.

On 22 October President Kennedy officially announced establishment of a naval blockade on Cuba, or as he evasively preferred to put it, a "quarantine." Large U.S. naval forces—183 ships—were assembled in the Caribbean. The commanders received orders to search ships bound for Cuba with freight. This was a scandalous violation of the norms of international law, sea piracy elevated to the rank of a state policy, close to what it is today customary to call international terrorism. This was how the "Caribbean crisis" began.

The Soviet Union was faced with the stark question of how to prevent unleashing of a global nuclear missile conflict, to find the best way of speedily settling the crisis, and at the same time to defend the principles of self-determination of the peoples. The Soviet side showed exceptional self-control, restraint, a sense of responsibility, and a readiness to entertain mutually acceptable compromises and solutions in the higher interests of maintaining world peace. This was even acknowledged by the U.S. side. The daily reports to the supreme U.S. leadership from CIA Chief J. McCone also mentioned the Soviet Union's restraint and its desire to prevent an uncontrollable escalation of the conflict. Thus CIA documents for 24, 25, and 27 October—the very peak of the crisis—noted that measures taken by the USSR to improve the combat readiness of its Armed Forces were not provocative.

At the same time, Washington made a fairly sober assessment of the Soviet Union's military might, our country's readiness to meet any aggressor fully armed, and our retaliatory missile strike potential. As the crisis deepened, Washington took increasing account of the deadly consequences of such retaliation for the United States itself. During one conference President Kennedy said: "I think that the risk for us is increasing. Yes, I think so. What is the difference? At any rate they (the Soviet Union—A.B.) have more than enough weapons to blow us sky high. I think this is just a question of... Ultimately it is as much a political struggle as a military one." This was a step toward realism and an admission of objective reality. It was time to put a stop to "crisis diplomacy" and the sooner the better—before the stormclouds of a military conflict appeared on the horizon.

The U.S. leadership saw the terrifying dead-end of strong-arm politics looming before its very eyes. The prospect of a thermonuclear war made many leaders in the Washington hierarchy shudder. An episode that took place during the crisis in the Pentagon and recounted by General D. Burchinal, USAF chief of operations, was typical. When R. McNamara was told that the U.S. U-2 spyplane had violated Soviet airspace over the Kola Peninsula, the defense secretary, so the general recalled, "went completely white and shrieked hysterically: 'This means war with the Soviet Union! The President must contact Moscow immediately.' He left the meeting in a state of extreme agitation." There was no mention of the United States escaping unharmed in the event of a global conflagration being unleashed.

Complex and difficult diplomatic maneuvering and searches for a mutually acceptable compromise began. Soviet diplomacy played an active and constructive role. At this stage of the crisis, realism was also shown by U.S. President J. Kennedy, who rejected the belligerent recommendations of the Washington "hawks" and quite soberly weighed up the actual correlation of forces. There was an exchange of messages between N.S. Khrushchev, head of the Soviet Government, and the U.S. President. The mediation efforts undertaken by acting UN Secretary General U. Thant were also of great importance. This organization confirmed yet again that it can and should be an effective tool in maintaining international peace and security.

As a result of these intensive multilateral efforts, the compromise which would make it possible by the end of October 1962 to move tentatively toward a settlement of the "Caribbean crisis" started taking shape. Late on the evening of 26 October, A.F. Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador to the United States, was summoned by R. Kennedy. The conversation was "eyeball to eyeball." The president's brother admitted that if a war started millions of Americans would die. He stated that, in the President's opinion, Soviet proposals and a letter in reply from the U.S. side could be a suitable basis for a settlement of the crisis. Specifically, it was a question of the United States giving an "assurance to abandon the invasion of Cuba" and the USSR agreeing to withdraw its missiles from Cuba. Furthermore, it was planned that the U.S. missile bases in Turkey would be scrapped. These fundamental accords formed the basis of the measures which led to a way out of the crisis.

What can be learned from the lessons of the "Caribbean crisis?" First and foremost, they remind us of the grim reality of the nuclear age, the fact that in a modern war there would be no winners or losers. The "Caribbean crisis" was convincing evidence of the military-strategic parity prevailing at the time between the USSR and the United States, and showed that the "geographical invulnerability" of the Western Hemisphere was finished once and for all. Its lessons also show that it is only possible to find a way out of a crisis in the nuclear age on the basis of mutually acceptable compromises.

The lessons of the "Caribbean crisis" are today a warning to imperialist politicians not to have blind faith in the omnipotence of "nuclear deterrence" or to harbor exaggerated hopes of obtaining political advantages through expediting the arms race. It is becoming more and more obvious that force cannot be a rational means of resolving differences between states in the nuclear and space age, and that international security can only be ensured by political means.

Dominica President Denies CIA Payoff

LD271741 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 27 Oct 87

[Text] Havana October 27 TASS—A political row is growing in Dominica in connection with the reports in the U.S. press to the effect that the prime minister of that Caribbean island country Mary Eugenia Charles ensured support in the region for the U.S. armed invasion of Grenada in 1983. According to a *Prensa Latina* agency report, Mary Eugenia Charles who has been charged with getting a big payoff from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency prohibited an investigation into that case.

According to the information published in the newspaper *The Washington Post*, the CIA set aside 100,000 dollars for Dominica's prime minister in recognition of her "services" performed in launching an armed adventure against Grenada. After that publication, the prime minister denied in an interview with the *Caribbean News Agency* the fact of getting a payoff from the CIA. She also announced her intention to sue *The Washington Post*.

A number of prominent observers believe that the prime minister of Dominica really played an active role in the period of preparing the U.S. armed invasion in Grenada. This was pointed out, in particular, by Guyana's former president the now late Forbes Burnham.

Idea of Central American Parliament Hailed

PM281115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[A. Zagorskiy "International Notes": "Step in the Right Direction"]

[Text] The process of a peaceful settlement in Central America received yet another positive fillip. Recently a conference of the preparatory commission of the Central American parliament, which includes the vice presidents and foreign ministers of the five countries of the region (Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and El Salvador), and also representatives from their parliaments, was held in the capital of Guatemala.

The main result of the conference was ratification of the final draft agreement on creating the Central American parliament, a permanent organ to discuss the member countries' political, economic, social, and cultural problems.

The document signed by the 5 vice presidents envisages that in the first half of next year, 20 deputies from each of the states must be elected to the Central American parliament. Moreover, it is proposed that their former presidents and vice presidents also be full deputies. The parliament, whose headquarters is planned to be located in the Guatemalan capital, will assemble at least once a year, and also on occasions when more than 40% of its deputies favor convening it. The draft agreement is to be put forward for discussion by the presidents of the five Central American countries during their conference in Costa Rica, scheduled for next January.

The problems of the Central American region, where for many years now a dangerous conflict has been smoldering, are extremely complex, closely interlinked, and deeply rooted in history. Needless to say, any measures helping to overcome distrust and prejudices, support constant regional dialogue, and clarify positions of the Central American states on particular contentious issues are extremely important for their resolution! It is no coincidence that the participants of the conference in the Guatemalan capital assessed its results as a historic step toward establishing stable peace in Central America. Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez expressed confidence that creation of the Central American parliament would promote the success of peace efforts and development of the region's countries.

It is quite obvious that specific steps in the aforementioned direction are especially necessary now that it is being decided whether or not there will be a peaceful settlement in Central America. Practical implementation of this process was initiated by the Guatemalan accords of 7 August this year. It is no secret that forces opposing attempts to unblock the situation by political means are now trying at all costs to foil implementation of the agreements. An extremely eloquent illustration of this is the position of the U.S. Administration, which as before does not intend to abandon its course of supporting the Nicaraguan counterrevolution. As administration spokesmen state, next month official Washington plans to ask Congress to renew aid to the contras and allocate $270 million for these purposes. The U.S press— and this is extremely typical— citing high-ranking officials, notes that this will happen "even if Nicaragua completely fulfills the terms of the treaty concluded in Guatemala on a peace settlement." Recently Secretary of State Shultz, speaking in the House Foreign Affairs Commission, confirmed the administration's intentions to seek new funds for the contras, stating that continuing aid "is the key to democratization and full implementation of the Guatemalan agreements" (!). Moreover, the White House is attempting to pressure certain Central American countries with the aim of foiling a peaceful settlement.

Against this background, creation of the Central American parliament envisaged by the Guatemalan accords, which can be a forum for joint discussion of the region's

urgent problems, appears to be a step in the right direction. It is a step toward a political, not a strongarm, resolution of the region's problems.

Nicaraguan Vice President Ramirez Interviewed

PM281620 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Oct 87 pp 14-15

[Interview with Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez by special correspondents Vladimir Vesenskiy and Irina Khuzemi in Managua: "To Survive and To Live"—date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Managua—Our conversation with Sergio Ramirez took place at an exceptionally crucial time, perhaps a turning point, for Nicaragua and the whole of Central America—soon after the signing in Guatemala by the presidents of the Central American states of an agreement on achieving a peace settlement in the region.

Literaturnaya Gazeta: Even professional politicians described this event as improbable: Five presidents of Central American countries signed a document in Guatemala on achieving peace in Central America. How and why, in your view, did it become possible for this to happen?

Sergio Ramirez: I think it was the result of a number of factors that influenced the course of events. But most importantly, we must not forget that the agreement is the result of a decision taken freely by the leaders of these countries themselves. It is therefore all the more important to emphasize that this decision was taken in conditions of blackmail and pressure from the United States. These countries, from the viewpoint of American interests, have traditionally been regarded as the so-called periphery of the world and have served as small change in the American political game.

There is another aspect of the confrontation between Latin America and the United States that was intensified significantly after the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979. The Cuban revolution had its own characteristic features. It took place in a different historical period. At that time, the United States managed to bring about the isolation of Cuba through political maneuvering, despite the fact that the Latin American peoples supported the Cuban revolution and were opposed to the United States.

The Nicaraguan Sandinist revolution denoted a new type of relations between Latin America and the United States. The United States is trying to defeat our revolution at any price, by using weapons and mercenaries and by political and diplomatic means. Yet it is not a question of a big country like Brazil, Argentina, or Mexico. If a revolutionary process were to arise there, the United States would find it far harder to act.

But our country is small. Nonetheless, it is becoming a center of political radiation of such force that it is changing relations between the United States and the whole of Latin America. Seeking to defeat our revolution, the United States claims that we are the Soviet Union's military ally on this continent. That is a lie, and they know it is a lie. Nicaragua is not the Soviet Union's bridgehead—ideological, political, or military. The United States seeks to defeat us chiefly because Nicaragua is an example of unconventional, nontraditional behavior by a Latin American country toward the United States. If the country that sets such an example survives, if the Nicaraguan revolution gains strength regardless of aggressive U.S. policy and in spite of 8 bitter years of war and the 35,000 dead in that war, it means that relations between the United States and Latin America can no longer be what they were.

Without the Sandinist revolution, Peru could not have nationalized the banks. Brazil could not have told the international banks and the United States that it was ceasing to pay its debts. It is possible that the former military leaders in Argentina would not have come to trial. In Uruguay, the military would not have gone back to their barracks... A whole series of countries on the continent are pursuing a political line entirely different from their former line.

The evidence of this is provided by actual events. The United States, trying to organize aggression against Nicaragua, calls on the Latin American countries to "fall in." For example, in 1961 it managed to isolate Cuba with the help of a so-called legal document, the "Rio de Janeiro Pact." But in reply, the Latin Americans set up the Contadora Group, which a number of countries supporting it have joined. They put forward the idea of talks as an alternative to an aggression policy. The Contadora Group has succeeded in becoming an international political force and has won recognition in Western Europe and among the socialist and nonaligned countries. The United States had to reckon with it and was forced, if only rhetorically, to express support. However, it secretly tried to find ways to destroy this group. Now the United States is not openly opposed to the Guatemala accords, but in practice it is trying to wreck them.

Thus without Contadora—an independent Latin American movement—you cannot explain adoption of decisions in Guatemala. Without support from other Latin American states, the Central American countries could not have elaborated an independent policy.

But the agreement signed in Guatemala is also the result of the Nicaraguan people's armed victory over aggressors supported by the United States.

In 1981, the United States proposed to the Central American countries a project which envisaged the rapid defeat of Nicaragua with the help of armed aggression. It sought to persuade Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa

Rica that this project entailed no risk to them, but that for counterrevolutionary forces to enter Nicaragua it was necessary only to set up support bases on those countries' territory. The project's implementation was to take only a few weeks.

But the Nicaraguan people offered staunch resistance to the aggression, and a destabilization process began in the countries that had made their territory available to the counterrevolutionary army. The time came when the presence of the "contras" there became intolerable. The governments realized that the counterrevolution is not capable of defeating the Sandinist front. The lack of tangible victories and the delay in carrying out the military project for the defeat of the Nicaraguan revolution is also reflected in the mood of the public in the United States itself.

Literaturnaya Gazeta: American propaganda tries to depict Nicaragua's efforts to achieve peace in Central America purely as a propagandist trick: The Nicaraguans know, they say, that Reagan will not allow it, that he is unshakable in his adherence to a policy of strength. Therefore, they say, they have begun unilaterally to implement national reconciliation measures without waiting for the expiration of the time laid down in the agreements. In this connection we would like to ask you: What do you Nicaraguans expect from the Guatemala agreements, ideally, so to speak?

Sergio Ramirez: It is clear not only to the presidents, but to all social and public forces in the Central American countries that Reagan's policy is failing in our region. This fact, plus the personal will of a number of politicians, has created conditions for peace talks— talks, at least. These talks caught the United States unaware. It has no power to stop this desire for peace and revoke the agreements reached in Guatemala. That is the reality. Only a few months ago, a meeting of foreign ministers of the Central American countries was inconceivable. The ministers of El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Honduras, meeting in Managua, drew up the fundamentals for achieving peace in Central America. The U.S. President's arguments in Congress no longer have their former force, as they did at a time when all the Central American governments sided with the United States.

You cannot find a country anywhere in the world today that would support the aggressive U.S. policy with regard to Central America. Not even Mrs Thatcher supports it. This, of course, does not stop Mr Reagan, and he continues to seek material and other support for the "contras" from Congress. But we will fight to ensure that the "contras" do not receive it. If the American Congress decides to stop granting aid to the "contras," we will be closer to real peace in the region. Only a little, but closer.

If all the conditions for achieving peace have not been fulfilled by the date set in the agreement—5 November of this year—then the presidents of the Central American countries will meet again in December and decide what to do next....

Literaturnaya Gazeta: What position does the internal opposition take in the process of the Central American peace settlement? What suits it and what does not, in the conditions for achieving peace? Can it hamper that process? What, in your view, is the most complex aspect of these agreements? Which of its conditions is most difficult to fulfill?

Sergio Ramirez: The most difficult is to stop the war.

Literaturnaya Gazeta: Do you mean that the biggest obstacles to achieving peace are to be found outside the country?

Sergio Ramirez: Yes. Only by securing an end to U.S. support for the "contras" will we have the opportunity to conduct all-around dialogue with opposition inside the country. We are ready to open a multilateral national debate based on pluralism. We are not afraid of political or ideological battles. We do not fear that reaction may suddenly fill the streets with its supporters, nor do its newspapers frighten us. This struggle is, after all, preferable to war.

We distinguish between the parties which, while being in opposition in principle, have renounced the armed struggle, and those political forces that have left the country and head aggression against their own people.

Literaturnaya Gazeta: As far as we know, one point of disagreement with the internal opposition is the amnesty question. At present an amnesty is in force in Nicaragua for counterrevolutionaries who voluntarily renounce armed actions against the government. It does not extend to criminals who have committed grave crimes and been sentenced by courts martial. The opposition is demanding a general amnesty which would be extended to everyone serving a sentence. What do you think about that?

Sergio Ramirez: The amnesty should be seen as a process. We cannot talk about a general amnesty, since that is not even envisaged in the Guatemala agreements. It is a question of a process which began at the moment when our country's president announced a pardon for a number of people from neighboring Central American countries who took part in counterrevolutionary operations on Nicaraguan territory. But a general amnesty would depend on the sides' simultaneous fulfillment of the treaty conditions. We cannot promise to release every counterrevolutionary down to the last man, until the other side takes steps guaranteeing that persons freed under amnesty will not once again join the ranks of the armed counterrevolution.

Literaturnaya Gazeta: You are deputy chairman of the National Reconciliation Commission. How do you assess the work of the commission, on which, incidentally, opposition forces are also represented?

Sergio Ramirez: The president has called for dialogue with all political groupings. Anyone who lays down his arms can take part. That includes Eden Pastora's Democratic Revolutionary Alliance and the National Democratic Front. The procedure for the dialogue is to be drawn up by all the parties together.

Literaturnaya Gazeta: Can you tell us how the national reconciliation process is going in the country?

Sergio Ramirez: The dialogue began in October. We set up 40 peace commissions, including representatives of the Catholic and Evangelical Churches and small and medium peasants. We want them all to promote a cease-fire. I cannot say that these commissions have achieved any tangible success as yet. It is a difficult matter—to ensure that the counterrevolutionaries lay down their arms and stop hostilities. As yet, there are few such cases.

Literaturnaya Gazeta: The Nicaraguan press reports killings of people taking part in setting up the peace commissions and explaining the reconciliation policy to the people.

Sergio Ramirez: We are dealing with armed bandits trained and led by the CIA. Many difficulties lie ahead. We must reach the mass of the peasants. [passage omitted]

Report on Brazilian CP Plenum

PM281337 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Extraordinary Plenum"]

[Text] Brasilia, 19 Oct—An extraordinary plenum of the Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee was held here 17-18 October at the National Congress. It was convened to consider the sharp deterioration of the domestic political situation in the country brought about by the Liberal Front Party decision to break a political agreement with the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party.

The plenum resolution notes that President Jose Sarney's government remains one of the main forces in the current transitional process in Brazil intended to guarantee the democratic rights and sovereignty of the National Constituent Assembly. The document points out that any attempts to destabilize the National Constituent Assembly and hamper drafting of the new constitution, including attempts by right-wing putschist forces, run counter to the interests of democracy.

The stability of the transitional process of society's democratization, the Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee emphasized, will depend largely on solving economic and social problems facing Brazil and its working people.

Sejm Sends Greetings to Supreme Soviet

LD282239 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Warsaw October 28 TASS—The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic expressed fraternal greetings to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet people on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"Bursting a link in the world capitalist system, the October Revolution opened a new era in the history of humanity, brought liberation to masses of the tsarist empire," says the address of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet people. "The great and noble ideas of the October Revolution inspired the working people the world over, hundreds of millions of exploited workers and peasants to the struggle for human dignity and rights."

"The October Revolution proclaimed the right of nations to self-determination, created the conditions for the restoration of the Polish state on the ruins of three monarchies, opened a new chapter in the history of relations between our peoples."

"The joint struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors, the blood spilt by Soviet and Polish soldiers on the battlefield of the Second World War cemented our friendship," the address said. "We shall remember for ever the decisive contribution of the Soviet Army to the routing of German fascists who were consistently implementing the program of genocide that envisaged the extermination of the Polish people."

The address expresses the confidence that "the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic who are in the service of the well-being of their peoples will be contributing to constant enrichment of the cooperation of our states as this is expected by the public of Poland and the Soviet Union on the threshold of the 21st century. Constant enrichment of our friendship and cooperation promote the consolidation of the entire socialist community, serve the cause of peace and socialism.

Shcherbitskiy Visits Exhibition in Moscow

AU290826 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 24 Oct 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Visit to a Jubilee Exhibition"]

[Text] The Days of the Ukraine, devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, are continuing at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements in Moscow. Thousands of inhabitants and guests of the capital city have already inspected our republic's exposition at the jubilee exhibition entitled "70 Years Under the Banner of the Great October."

On the eve of the inauguration of the days, V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Yu. N. Yelchenko, B. V. Kachura, V. A. Masol, and V. S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members, visited the exhibition.

They were accompanied by M. S. Pichuzhkin, permanent representative of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers to the USSR Council of Ministers.

Sciences Academy Meeting Marks GOSR

LD282354 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] An anniversary meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was held today at the Bolshoy Theater, was devoted to the Great October Revolution as a decisive landmark in the development of the homeland's science.

The Presidium of the meeting included Comrades Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Demichev, Dolgikh, Yeltsin, Lukyanov and Razumovskiy; leaders of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences of union republics; leaders of the academies of sciences of socialist countries; and eminent Soviet scientists.

A report was delivered by Academician Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The restructuring that is taking place throughout the country, Academician Marchuk said, the renewal of all aspects of society's life and the fresh frontier in carrying out the revolutionary transformations that were begun by the Great October Revolution in a very direct way affect the whole sphere of science. The end purpose of the restructuring in science is to secure a world level of research in all scientific areas and to intensify the humanitarian orientation of scientific and technological progress. We see the main thing, Academician Marchuk emphasized, to be the organic linking of the development of science with the interests of the individual and society.

A meeting this morning of the general assembly of the Academy of Sciences adopted proposals by the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium on the further democratization of the process of forming the leading cadres of the academy's scientific institutions. It also considered an organizational question. Academician Mesyats, chairman of the Urals department of the Academy, and Academician Ilichev, chairman of the Far-Eastern Department, were elected as vice presidents of the Academy of Sciences.

Writers Meet, Ponder GOSR Meaning

LD282001 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—Returning to the Leninist heritage, to the ideals of the Great October Revolution in their primary meaning is the all-important task of the workers of Soviet culture in the new, truly revolutionary period of our life, the renowned Soviet playwright Mikhail Shatrov said at the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution press centre today. Attending the meeting apart from Soviet journalists are representatives of foreign mass media. The topic this time is problems involved in the development of Soviet culture.

Sharing his creative plans, Shatrov said, in part: "I tried to incarnate my understanding of the image of the revolution's leader and his associates in the new plays 'The Brest Peace' and 'Further, Further, Further' which are rehearsed now at two Moscow theatres."

"Creative intelligentsia takes along with state bodies the responsibility for the development of the theatrical and other types of art today", the playwright said. "We consider as our key task to do everything possible and necessary to make it easier for artists to work, to remove all extraneous administrative snags and provide an opportunity to create for the people".

"The essence of the current reform of the Soviet theatre is in making it live again", Oleg Yefremov, a famed Soviet stage producer, joined the talk. "We want artists to be more independent, more free. True, we do not always succeed in this. Many people lost the ability to think independently, cannot uphold their views. But still this process is going."

"The problem of assimilating new political thinking was the key topic of discussions involving the cultural personalities from various countries who have attended the second 'Issyk-Kul' forum in the Swiss city of Bussen", said Soviet Author Chingiz Aytmatov.

"New mode of thinking should be viewed now as evolution of human conscience", he stressed. "This evolution is taking place not at someone's whim or instruction. The need of a new thinking, of a new vision of the world and its prospects was generated by the fact that mankind will otherwise not be able to survive. The unprecedented development of the productive forces, the power of human activity and the colossal risk inherent in the nuclear armaments amassed, the risk to the whole of mankind compel people to remould conscience not only within the scope of a single country, where the restructuring is the key driving force even now, but within the scope of entire humanity".

Political and Social

Prices Committee Chairman on Panic Buying

PM291433 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with A. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Prices Committee, by correspondent S. Bogatko under the rubric "Aloud About Rumors": "Don't Waste Your Money"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Telegrams sent from Ivanovo and a number of other cities in the country report that a section of the population is buying goods on an unusual scale. People explain that there will soon allegedly be a steep rise in prices and that someone has supposedly already seen the new price lists and tariffs. *Pravda* correspondent S. Bogatko asked A. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Prices Committee, to explain.

[Bogatko] Anatoliy Nikolayevich, how valid are such fears?

[Komin] I can state with full responsibility that the rumors being spread among the population that there will soon be an increase in the prices of food and certain nonfood goods are entirely groundless.

[Bogatko] But there is quite widespread talk of problems in price formation.

[Komin] It is a question of something quite different. In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum decisions, the USSR State Prices Committee is indeed working at present to prepare proposals for improving the entire system of prices and charges in the national economy, including retail prices. Mention was made of the need to fundamentally restructure price formation in the country at the plenum and also in the press, in newspapers and journals. However, the questions are so complex that they require great preparatory work and time. This applies also to problems of improving retail prices. As stated at the plenum and in the Murmansk speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, retail prices will be improved under conditions of glasnost. Before any decisions on this question are adopted, they will be submitted for open nationwide discussion. It should also be emphasized that retail prices will not be changed to the detriment of the population's material interests. Not only must any change to them not lead to a deterioration in the working people's living conditions, but, on the contrary, it must help to improve these conditions for certain categories of working people and lead to the fuller realization of social justice.

[Bogatko] What guarantees exist that no extraordinary circumstances will force an urgent increase in food prices?

[Komin] The most reliable guarantee is the fact that agriculture has worked better this year than last, particularly with regard to livestock products. More grain has been harvested. It is true that fewer potatoes and vegetables have been harvested in the central non-Chernozem oblasts because of this year's unfavorable weather conditions. But the situation in the country as a whole is better, and there are no grounds for concluding that supplies will be worse.

Of course, the problems of price formation remain, but this is lengthy work—not for 1 year—and the state committee is considering measures which relate to both price increases and price reductions. But all these questions will be decided openly, and the customer need not fear any "surprises."

[Bogatko] Throughout the "market world" the keeping of commercial secrets is the first commandment.

[Komin] Yes, but this is a socialist state, and we consciously accept certain economic losses in the name of glasnost, in the name of asserting the principles of social justice. This too is a manifestation of the demand for more socialism.

[Bogatko] What gives rise to rumors?

[Komin] Our society is at the first stage of restructuring. The principles of glasnost and democracy are still only being asserted. But rumors..? It is no secret that there are people with an interest, for different reasons, in spreading them. They include our ideological ill-wishers, and sometimes certain trade workers, in seeking to fulfill the plan, to free warehouse premises of unmarketable goods more quickly, and to obtain a bonus, drop "eloquent" hints.

[Bogatko] Who loses out as a result?

[Komin] Primarily those citizens who believe the rumors being spread of a supposedly imminent increase in retail prices and who buy food and other goods for future use. People are willy-nilly damaging their family budget, as foodstuffs cannot be kept for long. It only remains to advise them to spend their hard-earned rubles more sensibly.

Gorbachev's Book Published in U.S., USSR

LD281329 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's book "*Restructuring and a New Way of Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World*" is being published simultaneously in the USSR and the United States. In the words of the author himself, writes the newspaper *Moscow News* today, this is neither a scientific treatise nor a scientific publicistic work. It is a pondering on restructuring and on the problems which have arisen before Soviet society, on the scale of the changes, and the complexity and

responsibility of our time. By its nature, its tone and its openness the book is an invitation to conversation. The *Moscow News* editors have today published excerpts from the work of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, prefacing them with their own questions and musings based on letters, primarily of foreign readers.

One of the questions is as follows: It would be naive to suppose that such a profound process would be easy. The inevitable difficulties could provoke dissatisfaction among people and conflict situations.

This is what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev thinks of this:

In the West it is often said that restructuring is encountering difficulties and that it is provoking dissatisfaction among the working people. What can I say about this? There will, of course, be difficulties in such a great undertaking. If we come up against manifestations of lawful dissatisfaction or protest, then we will seriously examine, above all, the reasons for such phenomena. Administrative rage will be of no help here. The bodies of power, as well as public and economic organizations must learn to work in a way that does not provide excuses for this type of protest. They must remove issues that could provoke such a reaction beforehand and in good time. It is well known that if the authorities do not resolve troublesome issues, then the people try to do this themselves. There is but one criterion here: All that strengthens socialism we will listen to and take account of. We will struggle against tendencies that are alien to socialism, but, I repeat, within the framework of the democratic process.

Brochure Issued on Gorbachev Leningrad Visit

LD282223 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text]"*The Party of the Revolution is the Party of Restructuring*". This is the title of a collection of materials on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Leningrad on 12-13 October, 1987. Included in the book are the speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the meeting with party veterans, the participants in the events of the revolution, shock-workers of the 5-year plans, and the aktiv of the Leningrad party organization, a report on Comrade Gorbachev's meetings and conversations with the working people of Leningrad. The brochure has been published by Politizdat.

Gorbachev, Others at Food Processing Exhibit

PM281141 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "New Equipment for Processing Sectors of the Agro-industrial Complex"]

[Excerpt] An important condition for the implementation of the Food Program worked out by the party is the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the agro-industrial complex and the retooling of the processing industry and storage facilities for agricultural output. The exhibition "Technical Equipment for the Food Sectors of Industry, Trade, and Public Catering" at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements tells how this task is being solved.

Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.k. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, V.I. Dolgikh, B.N. Yeltsin, N.V. Talyzin, A.P. Biryukova, V.A. Medvedev, and G.P. Razumovskiy saw the exhibition 16 October.

V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Yu.d. Maslyukov and I.S. Silayev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, and officials of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR ministers, scientists, and leading specialists in a number of sectors were also there. [passage omitted]

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Opens 29 October

Gromyko Attends Opening

LD290733 Moscow TASS in English 0719 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—The Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Russian Federation, the largest constituent republic in this country, opened a regular session in the Kremlin in the morning today.

It is being attended by Andrey Gromyko, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Yegor Ligachev and other Soviet leaders.

The deputies are to endorse a state plan for the economic and social development of Russia next year and budget estimates for 1988. The republic's economy in many ways determines the pace of the economic development of the Soviet Union as a whole.

Attendees Listed

LD290959 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] The 6th session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation began at the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow today. Deputies and guests welcomed with applause Comrades Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikhonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Demichev, Dolgikh, Yeltsin, Talyzin, Yazov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, and Kapitonov.

'Days of the RSFSR' Festivities Open

Vorotnikov Meets Delegation

LD282234 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today at the USSR National Economic Achievements Exhibition [VDNKH] the Days of the RSFSR have opened. In the RSFSR House of Soviets Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov had a meeting with a delegation from the RSFSR. He cordially congratulated the working people of the RSFSR on the opening of the festivities which are completing the Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary celebrations at the VDNKH. The delegates who came to the capital from all parts of the RSFSR are to have meetings with collectives of Moscow enterprises. Masters of art and amatuer collectives of the RSFSR will give concerts.

Addresses Government Session

LD291241 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2010 GMT 29 Oct

[From TASS "Round-up"]

[Excerpts] Moscow [dateline as received]—The matter of measures to ensure fulfillment of the state plan for the economic and social development and the budget of the RSFSR, the largest union republic in the USSR, for 1987 and to prepare the national economy for work in 1988 was examined today at a session of the republic's government. Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report. It was noted at the session that the volume of industrial production in the republic rose in January-September by 4.6 % in comparison with the level in the plan for the corresponding period of last year, while the plan figure for the year stands at 4.3 %. The entire increase in output was obtained through an increase in productivity. [passage omitted]

Citizens 'Warned' on 'Incompatible' Actions

LD281239 Vilnius in Lithuanian to Europe 0100 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] The Lithuanian SSR Procurator's Office issued an official warning to three citizens concerning their activities, which are incompatible with Soviet legality.

It has been explained to them that in the future they can be called to administrative account or, according to existing laws, criminal proceedings can be instituted against them for activities of this nature.

Nijole Sadunaite, living in Vilnius, has been officially warned. Apart from other activities, she was one of the main organizers of the nationalistic gathering in Vilnius 23d August this year.

Rokas Puzonas, Paris priest at the Kiaukliai Parish in Sirvintos Rayon, and Sacristan Robertas Grigas, also have been warned. The latter also took an active part in the demonstration in Vilnius and earlier had compiled and distributed leaflets urging to struggle against Soviet power.

Paris priest Puzonas constantly used the church pulpit for spreading nationalistic and slanderous ideas.

Therefore, the Lithuanian SSR Procurator has issued a warning to these citizens concerning the possible consequences of their actions.

Further on Supreme Soviet Session

Menteshashvili Address

PM281351 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 20 October evening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "On Ratifying USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees"]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies!

As usual, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is submitting the decrees approved between sessions for your consideration. They were all published on time. You have the necessary materials at your disposal.

What would I like to say to you as I submit these decrees? First of all, that they, like all of the presidium's activity in this period, are based on the party's strategic course aimed at restructuring, accelerating, and democratizing the whole of the life of society and are oriented toward implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January and June CPSU Central Committee plenums. Naturally, preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution have given special meaning to all our work. It must be emphasized in this respect that a realistic view of our problems, critical assessment of our achievements, the focusing of attention on unresolved issues, and prime concern for the interests of man have been the main factors in determining the approach to all our tasks.

At the same time, in assessing our achievements to date by this criterion, it must be admitted that the presidium and local organs of state power have not managed to do everything as required by the tasks, scale, and innovative nature of the current revolutionary changes. Some thorough work has still to be done to ensure that the soviets take a more active stand in all matters, particularly in the comprehensive development of territories and the solution of social issues, and also that they become in practice the main link in the people's socialist self-management, as Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said at the party congress.

But now the decrees themselves. Briefly, they basically concern three interconnected groups of issues: improving the people's living conditions; providing the restructuring of economic management with the necessary legal basis; and, finally, further strengthening socialist legality and law and order and improving the protection of Soviet people's rights.

You are aware, esteemed deputies, of the great attention being devoted to implementation of the social program approved by the congress. An integral part of this program is greater concern for the family, continued improvement in the position of women, and the creation of the kind of working and social conditions which will allow them to successfully combine motherhood with an active working and public role. As is well known, a great deal has been done and is still being done in this respect in our country. A decree was approved on 2 September this year at the proposal of the AUCCTU and the Committee of Soviet Women offering new benefits to pregnant women and women with young children. In particular it is a case of instituting a part-time working day or week for them, of transferring them to lighter work while retaining their average wage, and of reducing their output norms. If desired, women will have the right to work at home while on maternity leave. They will retain their benefits in this respect.

The party and state are particularly concerned to accelerate the solution of the food problem, to create the conditions to develop individual subsidiary plots and collective horticulture and market gardening, and to remove present restrictions in this respect. This has already been discussed at the session today. A decree adopted 3 August this year gives the residents of cities and settlements the opportunity to use vacant houses and subsidiary plots in rural areas. What can this provide? Judge for yourselves. At present there are hundreds of thousands of abandoned homes with plots of land attached to them in a number of parts of the country. If they were all to be properly managed and put to use, working people would see a considerable increase in the food on their tables. There is another, no less important, side to this, namely, people's leisure and health.

You are well aware that the country's working people warmly support the "*Basic Guidelines to Develop Health Care*" submitted for nationwide discussion. It is a document of great social and human importance. Preventive work, the prevention of disease, is of paramount importance in this respect. This approach forms the basis of the 25 August Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the prevention of infection with the AIDS virus. This decree was approved following numerous proposals and requests from citizens and provides for the necessary medical and legal measures aimed at preventing and limiting the spread of this dangerous disease in our country. Extensive international cooperation in this sphere is also envisaged.

The next group of decrees, esteemed deputies, concerns the reorganization of economic management. As you know, in accordance with the June CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions, a great deal of work is now being done to improve the economic mechanism and the standard of work by all management units.

In line with the relevant decrees, the union republic ministries of geology, the oil refining and petrochemical industry, the coal industry, ferrous metallurgy, and nonferrous metallurgy have been made all-union ministries. The legal status of statistics organs has been raised: the Central Statistical Administration has become the union republic State Committee for Statistics.

Two new all-union ministries have been formed on the basis of four now defunct ministries: the tractor and agricultural machine building ministry and the heavy, power, and transport machine building ministry.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrades A.A. Yezhevskiy and V.M. Velichko respectively as ministers and Comrade M.A. Korolev chairman of the State Committee for Statistics.

A number of other appointments and dismissals of officials in the Council of Ministers have also been made at the representation of the Soviet government. Changes have also been made in the People's Control Committee and the Supreme Court. You have the texts of these decrees and the drafts of the corresponding resolutions.

And now the decrees which concern socialist legality and discipline. We are aware that the democratization process is organically linked with the strengthening of legality and law and order.

A new edition of the Decree on Responsibility for Damage to Crops on Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes was approved 25 September this year. Certain changes have also been made to the USSR Air Code.

Work is currently under way to improve criminal legislation. It is planned to make it more democratic and humane, to more strictly implement the principle of social justice, and to use new approaches to re-educate transgressors. Important measures have been outlined to improve work in correctional labor institutions. A decree has been published in connection with the latter, which concerns the questions of organizing work for convicts, strengthening order in places of imprisonment, making more effective use of educational measures, and certain other factors.

One final point. Our country has acceded to the International Convention to Combat the Taking of Hostages. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has made this a criminal offense and made provision for strict punitive measures. You are aware of them.

These, in brief, comrades, are the decrees which have been approved. The Supreme Soviet Presidium believes they are all dictated by life itself, are in the interests of Soviet people and society as a whole, and meet restructuring requirements. That is why we ask you, esteemed deputies, to discuss and approve them. (applause).

Winter Readiness Resolution *[PRAVDA 21 Oct]*
PM281445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution in Response to a Question Put by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies A.S. Kulenov, F.P. Lopatin, and V.A. Vasilev", adopted at 20 October afternoon final joint session]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To acknowledge the reply of Comrade B.YE. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex, to the deputies' question. To note that soviet and economic organs and labor collectives are carrying out extensive work to prepare the national economy for the coming winter period. At the same time, a number of USSR ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and soviet ispolkoms are taking too long over this work and failing to ensure the implementation of all essential measures.

2. To instruct the USSR Council of Ministers to enhance the responsibility of the appropriate state administration organs for the completion within the set deadlines of planned measures to ensure the steady functioning of the fuel and energy complex and transport and uninterrupted supplies of fuel, heat, and electricity to national economic sectors and the population.

3. To instruct union republic councils of ministers, local soviets and their executive organs, and USSR ministries and departments to eliminate, within the shortest possible time, existing shortcomings in the preparation of housing and municipal service facilities for the winter, to ensure economical consumption of fuel and energy resources everywhere, and to intensify attention to and monitoring of the solution of these questions in krays, oblasts, rayons, and at every enterprise and population center.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Moscow, Kremlin, 20 October 1987.

Light Industry Resolution
PM281529 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution in Response to a Question Put by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies N.A. Nuriyeva, A.R. Korotenkov, and V.E. Siytan"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] After hearing the reply of Comrade V.G. Klyuyev, USSR minister of light industry, to the question put by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies N.A. Nuriyeva, A.R. Korotenkov, and V.E. Siytan, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To note that the USSR Ministry of the Light Industry is dragging its feet in restructuring work to increase production and enhance the quality of goods, especially clothing and footwear, in line with people's current requirements.

With a view to meeting the population's requirements for light industry goods, to instruct the ministry and Minister Comrade V.G. Klyuyev personally to implement concrete measures to radically improve the sector's performance by ensuring higher returns from the existing production potential, accelerating its retooling, and making better use of the potential of the new economic mechanism.

2. To instruct the USSR Council of Ministers to examine the questions raised in respect of the accelerated development of light industry, the strengthening of its material and technical base, and the improvement of supplies of equipment and materials to the sector and to define the measures necessary to resolve these questions.

3. To instruct union republic councils of ministers and local soviets to establish constant monitoring of the work of light industry enterprises and to provide them with effective assistance. To focus attention on the need for the timely and comprehensive commissioning of light industry projects.

4. To instruct the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Commissions for Consumer Goods and Services to the Population to step up the attention paid in their practical work to the solution of problems connected with improving supplies of a wide range of quality goods to the population and to persistently seek to implement the tasks of the Comprehensive Program for Goods and Services.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, Kremlin, 20 October 1987.

High Winds, Snowfall Threaten Georgia Harvests

LD291246 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Tbilisi October 29 (TASS)—Almost all parts of Georgia, a Soviet Transcaucasian republic, have been hit by bad weather—gale force winds, frosts and snow.

On the night of October 28-29 winds whipped Tkibuli, a mining centre, Kutaisi and Tskhakaya, a centre of subtropical agriculture. Frosts hit valleys in the east of the republic and the snow cover in some areas has reached 40 centimetres.

This is the first such drastic temperature drop in October in Georgia in more than 25 years. The bad weather has created serious difficulties for grape, vegetable and fruit harvesting, for the transportation of the potato harvest and for the harvesting of fodder crops.

The situation could have been worse had it not been for the timely warning issued by the weather service.

Stalin Victim's Daughter on Movie 'Risk'

PM291101 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 87 p 4

[Letter from Professor Nataliya Koroleva, winner of the USSR State Prize, doctor of medical sciences, daughter of Sergey Korolev: "The Truth About a Period of Time"]

[Excerpts] The 20th century... Inexorably it is coming to an end. We all want to live in the third millenium, we are forging plans, we have our dreams. And it is extremely important and interesting for us all and our children to know what this century of ours has given history, science, and mankind. That is why this movie about the history of the creation of missile technology in the world was so essential and interesting.

I knew that it was being shot, but what I saw exceeded all my expectations and shook me and all members of my family. The movie "*Risk*" shows for the first time and tells the whole truth about what actually happened. There are no actors, the cast is made up of all the direct participants in the events.

In 1972 a feature film under the title "*Taming the Fire*", producer D. Khrabrovitskiy, was screened. The role of the Chief Designer Bashkirtsev (Korolev) was played magnificently by USSR People's Artist Kirill Lavrov, but many of the details are fictitious. This is permissible in a feature film. However, what the contemporaries and future generations need is the reality as it was, no matter how bitter or hard to accept it is. This is why, in my view, the screening of the movie "*Risk*" is of tremendous historical and political significance. Naturally, it could only appear now, in the times of glasnost and restructuring which our entire country is experiencing.

On 4 October this year, on the anniversary of the launching of the earth's first artificial satellite, the whole world was celebrating the 30th anniversary of the space era. My father's path to this day was not an easy one. He and many Soviet people had some grim years behind them. On 27 June 1938 he, the chief of a section of the Jet Propulsion Scientific Research Institute and candidate member of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, was arrested on the basis of a denunciation which was never checked out, with the total confiscation of essentially nonexistant property and of one of the small rooms of our two-room apartment on Konyushkovskaya Street in Moscow. My mother, Kseniya Maksimilianovna Vintsentini, was working as a surgeon at the Botkin Hospital at the time, and I had only just turned three. Then came prison, Kolyma, where he mined gold alongside criminals, scurvy... And here in Moscow the struggle for his release, for his life, persistent efforts on the part of his mother, Mariya Nikolayevna, and his wife, and the assistance of our distinguished pilots Valentina Stepanovna Grizodubova and Mikhail Mikhaylovich Gromov, who were among the first to be made Heroes of the Soviet Union and who contributed to my father's being summoned to Moscow in 1940 to a review his case.

I myself have four children and I want them to have a future. I believe that reason will sooner or later triumph and I am convinced that works like this movie are needed today as never before. After all, we study and try to fathom the past for the sake of the future. Therefore my gratitude to the creators of the remarkable movie "*Risk*" is not just the gratitude of the daughter of Sergey Pavlovich Korolev.

It is also the gratitude of a mother.

Publishing of Khrushchev 'Secret' Report Urged

LD282004 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, October 28 (TANJUG)—"I think the time has come to publish Nikita Khrushchev's secret report to the 20th congress of the Soviet Communist Party," a leading Soviet playwright told a press conference here today.

The playwright, Mikhail Shatrov, said that "Nikita Sergeyevich has great many achievements to his credit, the main of which is the 20th congress itself...We remember this, since the ideas of the congress continue."

Shatrov said that Khrushchev did not need political rehabilitation. Memoirs, remembrances, notes would appear. Khrushchev, like others, could be an interesting literary character for our writers," he noted.

This was the second time for the past few days that the late general secretary of the Soviet party—the only one not buried at the Kremlin Wall and who was for a time passed over in silence—was mentioned in a similar way.

The change is most probably the result of the stand taken by the top Soviet leadership on the eve of the 70th anniversary celebration of the October revolution. It is believed that much of it will be contained in the report being prepared for the celebration by general secretary of the Soviet Party Mikhail Gorbachev.

Novelist Chingiz Aytmatov said, speaking of this year's nobel-prize winner for literature, Soviet emigre poet Iosif Brodskiy, that his poems could now probably be published in the Soviet Union. Aytmatov added that he never met Brodskiy and did not know much about his recent poetry, but heard that he was an "interesting" poet of the 1960's generation.

The decision of the nobel committee came "unexpectedly" for the Soviet public, said Aytmatov.

The awarding of the prize to Brodskiy has not been reported in the Soviet press so far.

Youth Daily on 'God-Seeking' Issue

PM281643 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 87 p 4

[Ye. Losoto article under the "We Continue the Discussion" rubric: "'Divine' Polemics"]

[Text] This article is a continuation of discussion about god-seeking in life and literature.

Not so long ago we could not even have imagined that a polemic would start up between those who have discovered in religion a "benefit" for the moral state of society and those who regard religion in the old way, that is to say, negatively.

The illusion of the usefulness of religion in strengthening morality was completely demolished as far back as the 18th century by the French materialists (Diderot, Helvetius, and D'Holbach). That was their service to history.

The question was also examined by the founding fathers of Marxism, and once again the utopia of raising the moral standard of society through Biblical moral precepts was razed to the ground.

Few people today know what those Biblical moral precepts are. The ground is thus prepared for the spread of the opinion that they are something spiritually enlightening. Here is one precept: "...Give a soul for a soul, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot, a burning for a burning, a wound for a wound, and a stripe for a stripe." This is found in Judaism and Christianity. The precept is broader in the Islamic religion: There you also have a "nose for a nose" and an "ear for an ear."

Other precepts will be dealt with later.

This article is a response to the article "New God-seeking and Old Dogmas" by A. Nuykin (*Novyy Mir* No 4, 1987).

The scientific truths expressed in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* by Doctors of Philosophy I. Kryvelev ("Flirting With the Divine," 30 July 1986) and S. Kaltakhchyan ("Not Faith But Knowledge," 10 December 1986) are A. Nyukin's "old dogmas." Because of their severely critical view of god-seeking these writers came under critical fire.

What really happened? I. Kryvelev saw and condemned god-seeking in contemporary literary work and also journalistic remarks alleging that we live according to the commandments given Moses by God. A.S. Kaltakhchyan provided readers with a scientific conception of the real source of morality and ethics (which are certainly not to be found in religion) and explained the meaning, value, and relevance of Lenin's legacy in this sphere.

And then you get reactions like that to their articles not just in *Novyy Mir* but in other publications too. Explanation and education must be provided.

The system of Christian theology contains so-called "moral theology." This tries to prove that there can be no ethics without religion, that moral perfection is impossible without religion, and that the basic norms of morality have been given to man by God.

There are some writers today who write in the vein of "moral theology."

They preach to us about the "morality" and "spirituality" of religion. The Decalogue (that is to say, the 10 Commandments given to Moses by God) contains 4 that are purely religious, of the "Remember the sabbath" type, but they don't bother about those; "secular" commandments, that is, commandments which entered the Bible from the human communal life of the time when the Old Testament was written—have gained currency, so to speak. Do not kill, steal, or commit adultery.

Other "secular" commandments, for example, do not bear false witness, have not yet gained currency. But they too may be needed! If there were suddenly to appear in our midst a large number of false witnesses, then instead of searching for and removing the causes of this phenomenon, we can raise aloft this forgotten commandment and parade it on the pages of a periodical or in front of the television cameras. This sphere of life will also be turned upside down, and someone will describe the logical method used as "new thinking."

Some of our writers describe virtually anything as new thinking! The term "new political thinking" essentially appeared at the beginning of the eighties with the sense that there could be no security for one people at the expense of another (for example, security for Americans at the expense of the Europeans) and that the primitive

"philosophy of deterrence" must be replaced by the idea of equality and mutual security of all sides consonant with the present-day level of science and technology.

As for our inner life, it is not difficult to see that "new thinking" does not mean abandoning materialism, that the restructuring of ideological work does not mean abandoning our ideology, and that our thinking must develop further but in the same direction, that is, on a Leninist basis. The understanding of "new thinking" as the possibility of creating an ideology based on idealism is thus casuistical. And god-seeking as "new thinking" is particularly so. Regardless of whether it is called a "new concept" or, bluntly, new thinking (in magazine articles), it is a movement in the opposite direction, a movement backwards, in my view.

Simple moral and legal norms and prohibitions are a common phenomenon of everyday life. Among the bans for vacationers posted on a board at a seaside boarding house was the following: "It is forbidden to cut the grass in the house grounds." I would go so far as to guarantee that none of the vacationers erred by cutting the grass either in thought or deed.

I cannot say the same for the commandments "no smoking in the rooms" and "no liquor."

Incidentally, the commandment "do not drink" is found in the Koran. And we started the anti-drunkenness campaign because we recalled the word of Allah, didn't we?

Why not turn this upside down too?

Simple precepts and legal norms from the life of the people have entered and continue to enter codes of law, religious books, house rules for vacationers, the policy of parties and government... they get everywhere!

Lenin said that for us morality outside of human society does not exist: It is deception.

Religious, that is, conservative consciousness has never yet found real ways of solving pressing contradictions, never been able to oppose real evil. When evil grows, religiosity also grows, that is, protest against evil within its very midst—its obverse side. Private-ownership attitudes grow as do injustice and impotent protest: Some people take refuge in the bottle, others in God. It is naive to consider the first form of protest bad and the second good, the first form an evil, the second a boon. Spiritual vodka has the same effect as ordinary vodka: It befuddles people's brain and makes them weak and foolish.

Strict party exactingness and nationwide worker-peasant accountability and control rather than Moses' God-given commandments are what are needed to combat theft, corruption, and other infringements of justice.

Marxism is uncompromising toward religion not because it is against spirituality but because it is against the deception of the masses. Morality is shaped by social relations and does not fall to us from out of the sky via some third person, whether that person be Moses or any contemporary god-seeker. If we improve social relations, we will get better people—that encapsulates Marxism in the sphere of morality. It contains no grain of religion in general or that part of it which is now being offered to us. They are mutually contradictory. Marxism is inimical to religion and atheism forms an organic and integral part of it.

The Bible claims that there is nothing new under the sun. There have been attempts to portray Christ as a revolutionary, even a communist, and communism, for its part, as a new religion with a new gospel (that is, the theory of Marxism). It's all been seen before.

Christ, according to the New Testament, did indeed condemn the rich and riches, but it never occurred to him to call for people to revolt or for the return of stolen riches. He had a different idea: Give your property to the poor so that you might be "saved." The early Christian communities, about which so many soothing myths circulate, could kill their own members if they hid even the smallest amount of their former wealth from the community.

There is not a hint of opposition to slavery in Moses or Christ.

"Fear, my son, the Lord and the King" (the sayings of Solomon, the Old Testament).

Slaves will take comfort in the life after death precisely because the kingdom of God belongs to the poor.

That is why it is called the "religion of slaves."

That is why the poor in spirit, those that mourn, those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, the meek, the mild, and so on are "blessed" according to the Sermon on the Mount. Yours will be the kingdom of heaven! And in this world "resist not evil," "love your enemies, bless them that curse you..." "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other and if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

What sort of "revolutionary" and "communist" is this? And yet they contrive out of all this to stitch together a theory of "Christian socialism"!

...Is there a better symbol of defeat and incapacity to act than the crucifixion?

Yes, this is the opiate of the people. It was, is, and will be so long as it exists.

I mention this because a struggle for Marxism, for its basic principles, is again under way now. Attempts to remove atheism from Marxism and jettison it as impeding "spirituality" are one manifestation of this struggle. Attempts to replace atheism with a variety of moral theology dubbed "humanism" are another manifestation. (Incidentally, the humanism that took shape during the Renaissance is a system of views opposed to the depersonalization of man by religion. Real humanism, as distinct from this purely verbal "humanism," is therefore fused with atheism.)

I quote from a letter from Lenin to Gorkiy written in that somber period of reaction between the 1905 and 1917 revolutions, when the intelligentsia flung itself into god-seeking and the greatest ideological disintegration and disorder set in even in the party, let alone literature. "A million sins, dirty deeds, and instances of violence and physical infections are much more easily discovered by the crowd, and thus much less dangerous than the subtle, spiritual idea of God dressed up in the finest 'ideological' raiment." The idea of a spiritual God was described by Lenin as an idea prettified by priests, a sweet-tasting poison for consumption by vulgar souls...

Of course the "cultivated" religious line has prompted opposition and criticism from Marxism not just now but in the past too.

I quote Lenin: "Marxism is materialism. As such, it... is mercilessly hostile to religion..." For those inclined to distort I would add that Marxism's hostility to religion in no way means persecution of believers or destruction of places of worship.

As I see it, the erosion of our ideology is being carried out first by means of every sort of distortion and slander against Marxists and second by attempts to enclose Marx and Lenin within the narrow time frames of their lifetimes.

Here is a new example: Lenin's assessments are applicable to "specific ideas in specific circumstances" (from an article by V. Sherdakov in *Sotsiologicheskiye Issledovaniya*, No 4, 1987). In the same article he says that it is "wrong" to apply what Lenin said about the god-seeking of that time to the god-seeking of our own time.

Moreover, in order to do even greater injury to his scientific colleague, Sherdakov ascribes to the author of "*Flirting With the Divine*" things that are not to be found in the article at all.

The muddy waters delivering us this saccharine God in the guise of "spirituality," emigres who hate socialism in the guise of "cultural heritage," and drug addicts and fags in the guise of "truth" and "glasnost" are, if they turn into a torrent, capable of eroding what is really valuable from social consciousness, particularly young people's—the revolutionary traditions and theory of Marxism.

Now down to the specifics of A. Nuykin's article, which is as long as it is vacuous.

Our articles are regarded by Nuykin as "signals" that "suspect tendencies" have been discovered in a number of writers. It would be interesting to know to whom we are sending "signals." Although the suspected addressee can be discerned: The critic is frightening readers with a repetition of the prewar period. Clearly our authors want a repetition. Kryvelev clearly dreams of once again being sent to live far from Moscow.

In every period people suffer for their convictions differently. In one period it will be as just mentioned. In another period, as you can see for yourself, people are ridiculed for holding scientific truths, which Nuykin describes as "dogmas" and "iron formulas."

But that is another matter. No one can shout about their misfortune more loudly than writers, or indeed would want to.

The analogy with Bulgakov used by Nuykin is very shaky. You should not look for a critic like Latunskiy in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, he is not to be found there. Neither Kryvelev nor Kaltakhchyan is such a critic, they are masters of their craft, experts in their scientific field. Do not take my opinion on trust, read some of their work. My opponent can only discover a Latunskiy by saying:

"Mirror, mirror on the wall..."

Then his associations add up, everything settles into place, and the "Old Believer" hated by Latunskiy and the propagandists of "old dogmas" hated by Nuykin can be legitimately equated.

Nuykin regarded the articles by Kryvelev and Kaltakhchyan as "one of the last (I would like to think) shrieks of the dogmatic atheism which in conditions of insufficient democracy and glasnost arrogated to itself a monopoly on ultimate truth..." And, he goes on, "dogmatism, raised voices, fear of open argument," and so forth.

Lest the reader be taken in here, I should explain that by "dogmatic atheism" he means atheism that is opposed to religion.

In the critic's opinion, neither the French materialists nor the founders of Marxism solved the question of God.

"It is of course possible," our opponent concludes, "and clearly it will be necessary once again to go through the series of quests, examinations, doubts, and disputes which mankind has already gone through many times in discussing the two questions: Does God exist? And if he does not, is he necessary?"

The critic recommends that this new round of explanations be begun not from scratch but from a higher point.

But only a very subtle mind is capable of grasping the difference between the various levels of the latest round of the search for God.

I will now say something about the scientists who "dared" to write such "outdated" articles.

The war tore people away from many occupations, including theoretical work in the sphere of Marxism. I. Kryvelev volunteered as a political fighter. A political fighter at the front line is someone whose job it was to rouse ordinary soldiers to the attack. To rouse them by personal example rather than orders. He would be the first to his feet and into the attack.

...Calls to be "fighters on the ideological front, as the party teaches us," are made at party meetings in all ideological organizations.

Now let us give actual content to these words.

I. Kryvelev has served as a political fighter on the ideological front. The article he wrote in his distinctive manner wages battle against the new version of religious prejudices.

Kaltakhchyan, who experienced the Leningrad siege and then became a soldier, next joined battle. He followed Kryvelev because the front opened up was too important.

Z. Tazhurizina, a lecturer at Moscow University (see her article of 10 April 1987) was the third to speak out, continuing the line being pursued by the newspaper. I edited all three articles. And now it is my turn as author.

Some people tell me that soon not even the name atheism will remain, that it will be renamed. But until it is renamed, it will be able to exist somehow but as something diffident—heaven forbid!—rather than belligerent.

Perhaps I should put on an atheist yashmak, out of fear. I will no longer be "lacking in spirituality" or "backward"! Go on, do it! At last I'll look modern! Liberal-minded talk of "general human" morality existing outside of time, without classes or strata, without two opposing systems, without rich and poor, without working people and parasites, will now be my lot.

What if I remove my atheist yashmak? Go on, do it! Hmm... Neither my shoes, nor the cut of my clothes, nor my face are now fashionable.

However, this trash must be removed.

What atheism needs now is not diffidence or a yashmak but the strength to go onto the offensive. In my opinion, it is now on the defensive, and a moral theology which declares itself to be of "eternal value" and a panacea for evil is coming into vogue.

The situation that has arisen in public life as reflected in the sorry polemic about the "benefit" of religion forces us to fight for the authority of advanced theory and scientific truth. For the authority of democratic and revolutionary traditions.

In this struggle lines must be drawn and an offensive mounted against both the old evil—the profaners of Marxism—and the "new" evil: the "cultivated" spiritual slavery that declares itself to be the new good.

It is particularly important that this should be understood by young people who are just embarking on life.

Oil, Gas Problems Institute Created

LD281721 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—A research institution of an entirely new type, the Institute of the Problems of Oil and Gas, has been created here. For the first time ever the USSR Academy of Sciences created its research institution which, at the same time, will be integrated in a higher educational establishment. The Moscow Institute of Oil and Gas was chosen for this purpose.

The new research centre which will be 'owned', along with the USSR Academy of Sciences, by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, is to become a kind of testing ground. It will master a mechanism of optimal cooperation of academic research institutions, research institutions working for separate industries and those working under higher educational establishments.

"Life has shown how irrational it is to divide science, a single whole, into separate parts. It should be fed by the same root system, it should have a single trunk and crown. In this case fruit will ripen more quickly and will be much more weighty. This is to be proved by the firstling of this unusual scientific cooperation," Professor Vladimir Vinogradov said in an interview with journalists. His post looks rather unusual today. It is actually a combination of two posts—the rector of the higher educational establishment and the director of the academic research institute which, from now on, will coexist under the same roof.

"The reorganization which is under way in science, the same as in the whole of the country, destroys barriers between separate branches that were one of the main obstacles on the way of scientific and technological progress," Professor Vinogradov said.

Death Sentence for Ukrainian 'Nationalist'
AU281419 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 21 Oct 87 p 4

[RATAU report: "The People Try"]

[Excerpts] It is said that the scene of the crime attracts the murderer. This is probably why after many decades, I. S. Honcharuk, an inhabitant of Komsomolske settlement in Kharkov Oblast, felt the desire to go to his native village Hrudka in Volyn Oblast.

"But, this is 'Dzhanko'!" the peasants behind the traveller cried angrily.

In this way the 62-year-old pensioner, in his youth nicknamed 'Dzhanko,' was recognized as an OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist] hangman who in 1944-45, under the conspiratorial name 'Lisovyy,' killed and robbed not only his fellow villagers, but also the inhabitants of other neighboring villages in Kamen Kashirskiy Rayon.

The treacherous path of this fascist henchman who, in the summer of 1944, joined the bloody OUN-ite UIA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army], came to an end late in 1945, when one of the gangs was done away with. But at that time he succeeded in concealing his terrible crimes from justice. This circumstance mitigated the punishment. Having served the sentence, he resolved to hide as far as possible from the places in which he perpetrated his black deeds. He hoped that time would cover up his bloody tracks. But people remembered everything.

Thus, a new trial was held 12-16 October. At its field session in Kamen Kashirskiy, the criminal affairs' bench of the Volyn Oblast court confirmed once again that the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army, whom some bourgeois nationalist hack writers in the West are now trying to whitewash, was created at the Hitlerites' bidding, and its only purpose always and everywhere was to serve the interests of the fascist occupiers. [passage omitted]

On the grounds of the irrefutable proofs, of evidence given by eye witnesses, of the conclusions drawn by expert commissions, and of the records made of the exhumation of mortal remains, the court found the defendant completely guilty, and sentenced the OUN-ite hangman, I. S. Honcharuk, to capital punishment by shooting. Those present in the hall met the just verdict with unanimous approval. [passage omitted]

All Volyn Oblast working people are unanimous in their opinion: The law should be administered to all hangmen. This would be a warning for those militarist and neo-Nazi forces who are maturing plans for a new human tragedy.

Bus Plunge Kills Eleven in Fogbound Moscow
PM281613 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Oct 87 Second Edition p 6

[P. Timofeyev report: "Collision in Fog"]

[Summary] Moskovskaya Oblast—Yesterday morning before 0800 a PAZ-672 bus belonging to the USSR Academy of Sciences was on its way back to Moscow in dense fog after taking a group of scientific personnel to an institute outside the city. Driver Ya.N. Shamin had picked up an unknown number of unscheduled passengers for the return journey. On a bridge over the Desna on the Kaluga highway 34 km out of Moscow the bus collided with an automobile and crashed through the barrier into the river 10 meters below.

This was "the worst accident in the outer Moscow area in 5 years," according to the Moscow Oblispolkom State Automobile Inspection Directorate chief. "Some passengers escaped with scratches. The injured have been taken to hospital. So far 11 dead have been found. Divers are continuing the search. Both drivers are alive. The culprit will have to explain himself to an inquiry...."

Obituary of Kolkhoz Pioneer Signed
PM281531 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Oct 87 p 4

[Obituary of Pavel Filippovich Veduta]

[Excerpts] Pavel Filippovich Veduta—personal pensioner of union status, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, talented organizer of kolkhoz production—died 19 October 1987 after a severe protracted illness.

P.F. Veduta was born in 1906 in a peasant family in the village of Zhuravka in Odessa Oblast's Nikolayevskiy Rayon. [passage omitted]

V.P. Nikonov, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, V.S. Murakhovskiy, I.I. Skiba, V.S. Shevchenko, V.A. Masol, Yu.a. Kolomiets, A.P. Nochevkin, I.I. Kukhar, D.K. Motornyy.

Traditions of Democracy, Soviets Viewed
PM131437 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Traditions of People's Power"]

[Text]When the revolutionary proletariat of Russia stormed the Winter Palace on an October night in 1917 it started out on the great path along which our country has now been traveling for 70 years. By establishing the power of the working people in the political sphere, social ownership of the means of production in the sphere of the economy, and collectivism and creative mutual assistance in human relations, socialism created for the first time in history real conditions for the

equality of all citizens. The very broad spectrum of their rights and freedoms was not just proclaimed but actually ensured by means of a system of economic and political guarantees.

The Leninist principles of people's power are enshrined in the USSR Constitution. They constitute the basis for the further development of our revolution's democratic traditions. Restructuring, the political core of which is the consistent democratization of the life of society, confirms this for all to see. The party is steadfastly following Lenin's behest: The Soviet system is maximum democracy for the workers and peasants.

Maximum democracy and maximum socialism require today the development of the people's initiative and creativity, the universal establishment of self-management by labor collectives, improvement of the electoral system and of the process of forming and operating organs of Soviet power, expansion of citizens' rights and freedoms, and development of glasnost.

Great October transferred power to the people. The USSR Constitution not only enshrined this revolutionary gain but also guaranteed Soviet citizens a constant expansion of the right to real participation in the affairs of the state. The traditions of people's power are continued by the soviets—the main link of socialist self-management. The party has persistently pursued the line of increasing their authority and opposes the usurpation of their functions by party organs. The CPSU directs the activity of the soviets but does not try to replace them—this principle has been strictly maintained by the Soviet state since the outset. If soviets are to make greater use of their enormous potential, they must must be more actively concerned with every vital matter occurring on the territory under their jurisdiction. The exertion of real influence by the soviets on production activity and the assumption of their responsibiiity for it will not only help overcome narrow departmentalism and local favoritism but will also enable the soviets to obtain economic independence. This will undoubtedly improve the exercise of full power by the soviets as enshrined in the country's Fundamental Law.

The enhancement of soviets' role is organically combined with the activation of trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations. Extensive opportunities for all working people to play a creative part in production management is one of the main features of socialist democracy. By developing the traditions of the socialist state's first legislative acts the laws on labor collectives and state eneterprises have appreciably advanced our democracy in this important area.

Yes, the working people of the land of socialism are involved in everything. And the party is doing everything necessary to facilitate the exercise of their rights to be in charge of their lives. We are proud of the high level of social security afforded Soviet people. This is what makes socialism socialism—a system of working people for working people. Our revolution began with the demand for equality for all, with the demand that property and power be removed from the privileged classes. It was no easy matter to uphold this thesis in theory, nor was it any less difficult to solve this task in practice. On proclaiming equality of all before the law, the Soviet republic made a giant step toward socialist equality. Enormous transformations in the sphere of ownership, economic development, distribution of national wealth, education, and culture were needed, however, to move from de jure to de facto equality. The USSR Constitution not only embodies this experience but also provides the guarantees necessary for further development of social justice and equality. The rights of the individual and respect for his sovereignty, honor, and dignity are an integral part of socialist democracy. Today, when our society is progressing along the path of revolutionary new transformations, they are acquiring particular significance. Restructuring has raised the question of reserves for further expanding the individual's social opportunities, rights, and freedoms. This is a condition for increasing the effectiveness of the human factor and the formation of socialist self-management at all levels—from the labor collective to society as a whole.

Our conviction that there is nothing more important for the exercise of rights and freedom than glasnost stems from those days in October 1917. The process of glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism is being built on a healthy foundation in our country and plays an enormous role in uniting all the forces of our society in line with the principles of restructuring. The atmosphere of openness enables everyone to show his civic stance and play an active part in discussing and deciding problems of vital importance. It is essential, however, that people should see the practical results of their own evaluations, opinions, proposals, and wishes. We must learn to live and work under conditions of expanding democracy. The atmosphere of glasnost must be better utilized to eradicate bureaucracy and improve the monitoring of the activity of state organs and public organizations from below.

Our constitution lays down that there are no rights without obligations. Conscientious labor for the good of society is one of those prime obligations. Radical reform of the economy is creating new opportunities for its effectiveness to be enhanced. The fate of restructuring today, as was noted at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, is being decided at every work place. That is why the question of tightening up discipline, organization, and order everywhere and in all things is so acute. It is by doing his job conscientiously that every Soviet worker really continues the traditions of October. The times demand initiative, independence, and a great sense of responsibility for the solution of today's economic and social tasks.

The unity of rights and obligations forms the social core of our social system. The basic obligations of Soviet citizens are being developed and enriched in the same

way as their rights are. This development in no way creates any extra "burden," as bourgeois propaganda seeks to make out, but forms an integral part of the improvement of the socialist individual and the growth of his public activeness. Experience has shown that any slackening of exactingness or indulgence toward those who refuse to meet their obligation does enormous damage to society and its individual members. Such practice has been roundly condemned by the party.

The past 70 years have seen the consolidation and development of the gains of socialist democracy. The Soviet Constitution is vigorously active, works for restructuring, and hastens the advent of new accomplishments. It is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Land of the Soviets to cherish the traditions of people's power and augment them.

Professor Writes on Improving Criminal Law

PM221423 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 87 Second Edition p 3

[Prof I. Karpets article under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "Restructuring and Legislation"]

[Text] 1.

The party is consistent in the restructuring of all spheres of our life. New thinking, which is taking hold in politics and the solution of economic and social tasks, is also necessary in legislation. Of course, law in itself is more conservative than the social relations "surrounding" it. Stability is one of its mandatory features. This is the only way to avoid legal chaos and anarchy. However, legislation must also stimulate the development of social relations. So how is this contradiction to be resolved: How are we to demolish the old, which acts as a brake, without at the same time jumping the gun?

When embarking on the improvement of criminal legislation, it is important to answer this main question: How is a truly new approach to be implemented? I stress this because there are voices calling simply for an "overhaul" of legislation. This is easier to understand, this is how it was done in the past. But with what results?

More than 63% of the RSFSR Criminal Code's articles were amended or supplemented between 1 January 1961 and 1 January 1985, some of them on two, three, and even more occasions. The special section of the code (which provides for liability in respect of specific types of crime—murder, embezzlement, hooliganism, and so on) contains 49 new articles—22% of the total number in force. But such active amendments did little to enhance the stability and authority of legislation: it was difficult even for jurists to find their way among them.

The legislative urge gripped almost all ministries and departments. Each of them, striving to patch up any economic gaps or omissions, started calling more actively on the force of criminal law. Legal norms were heaped one on top of another.

The number of new articles in the criminal codes of union republics increased rapidly. Punishment for a number of types of crime was made stiffer. In itself, this is natural: Serious crimes call for harsh punishment, there is no place here for any false humanitarianism. But the process of adding new crimes to the list (the extensive development of criminal legislation, so to say) began to exceed all reasonable bounds. The importance of the main point—the prevention of crimes—declined.

Public awareness wittingly or unwittingly accepted the thesis: As soon as criminal law provisions are made—the harsher the better—the harmful phenomenon which they aim to punish will disappear. In actual fact, the struggle against crime is effective only when all economic, social, and educational levers are set in motion. The hardening of the punitive approach in legislation (in general terms) does not accord with the course of democratization of social relations. Persuasion and coercion must balance one another.

There are also other shortcomings which need to be set right. For example, differing punishments for identical crimes in different republics. For example, damage to socialist property is punishable by up to 3 years' imprisonment in one republic, and by up to 10 years' in another.

The RSFSR Criminal Code lists more than 60 different circumstances which render crimes more serious (qualifying, in legal language). There is also a special list of aggravating circumstances. Being exhaustive, it prevents the court from considering as aggravating any other circumstances brought to light in a case but not contained in this list. It would obviously be logical for the general list to be generic.

Finally, new realities are emerging in the era of scientific and technical revolution and in the conditions of radical economic reform, and the law cannot ignore them. We are talking in particular about production risk. It is well known that its consequences are not exclusively positive. It is important to provide legal guarantees against any unjustified threat of criminal punishment. But this ought to be done in such a way that risk does not turn into total license, which would make people suffer. The same applies to experiments, especially those affecting man's rights, life, and health. The Law on Public Health, for example, enshrines the right to conduct medical experiments. And this is correct. But man must be protected from unconscientious experimenters, including by means of the criminal law.

2.

So what are the basic demands that the new legislation has to meet? In the first place, it ought to clearly define which criminal law acts fall within all-union jurisdiction, and which fall within republican jurisdiction. Union acts ought to be laws on state crimes and military crimes, as at present. A law on crimes against peace and humanity would also be topical. I think that such a chapter ought to be included in the union republic codes. The Soviet Union was the initiator of punishment for the crimes committed against peace and humanity by the Nazis. Now those who count on nuclear weapons and the likelihood of a nuclear war ought to be reminded of international criminal law principles and crimes. We should not be afraid to introduce such norms, including norms of liability for genocide, biocide, ecocide, terrorism, mercenary activities, and so on. Soviet people will never commit crimes like these, but the acts in question would have a tremendous significance as general warnings. Finally, it must not be forgotten that it was the USSR that initiated criminal liability for the propaganda of war. Therefore let criminal law sail in the wake of our state's political efforts and desire for peace.

Our society is now ready for the overwhelming majority of general criminal acts to be assigned to the jurisdiction of union republics.

I think that the most general demand to be made of the Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Criminal Legislation ought to be this: They must consolidate the fundamental principles of legality, social justice, and humanitarianism. By no means everyone agrees with this. Why, some people say, enshrine principles in law? This, they claim, is a matter of theory. But I believe that such an approach would enhance the political, social, and educational importance of Soviet criminal law.

Criminal legislation is called upon to reflect the requirements of life and the level of social relations while taking into account the stepped-up defense of citizens' rights and interests.

I think that, in this context, it is necessary to introduce the idea of criminal misdemeanor in parallel with the expansion of administrative liability. Then we will have a complete classification: Crime—misdemeanor—administratively punishable offense. Trivial actions will cease to be classified as crimes, and yet not a single breach will go unpunished. It could be possible to considerably narrow the operation of the criminal record institution, retaining it only as the consequence of serious crimes.

In legal terminology, this will result in a classification of crimes, which is important, first, from the viewpoint of consolidating legality and, second, from that of establishing moral principles in criminal legislation, distinguishing between criminal and noncriminal acts, and narrowing the sphere of the application of legal coercion.

Practice has shown the effectiveness of using probation with compulsory labor and the specific combination of restriction of liberty with correctional labor against people who have committed minor crimes. This measure must be included in the list of penalties.

It seems to me that the question of punishment, its legitimacy, expediency, justice, and humaneness is so fundamental that it should be resolved in the Fundamentals of Criminal Law on the basis of uniform principles for the whole country and a uniform list of penalties.

It is important, I believe, to ensure that the criminal law is based on a realistic understanding of crime. There must be no superficial approach here. At one time people believed that there was no reason for crime, drew up a timetable for "eliminating" it, and so forth. Practice has shown those ideas to be false. Crime is a complex social phenomenon reflecting the particular features of a society's development. Its dynamics depend not only on the activity of law enforcement organs. That is why it must be understood that crime statistics (which, I am convinced, should be available to all, provided that their publication is accompanied by a qualified commentary) do not by themselves tell anything like the full story. The nature of crime must also be taken into account. For example, in addition to reducing the liability for less dangerous crimes, it is also necessary to take into account the fact that there are crimes which have become a threat to socialist social relations: crimes by officials, links with common criminal elements, corruption, and so forth.

The main thing, I believe, which we must remember when improving the law is that it must be economical. An excess of laws destroys initiative, deadens social life, and poses the threat that any action by a man may turn into a misfortune for him. The Roman historian Tacitus once said that "the most corrupt state has the greatest number of laws." Morality is not instilled in society by a large number of rigid laws. History bears witness to that.

3.

New legislation must serve to strengthen the struggle against crime and, at the same time, help to eliminate the mistakes and shortcomings which exist both in the law and in practice, because it has long been known that even the most sophisticated law can be discredited by incorrect practical application. For example, the section on the protection of socialist property needs to be revised.

Research shows that approximately 40 % and sometimes more of people who steal state or social property receive either mild sentences or probation. I am not in favor of an indiscriminate toughening up of the law, but I am opposed to the irresponsible attitude toward the protection of socialist property.

There is now a clear differentiation of property and new forms of property have appeared. And for the formulation of criminal law the difficulty is that its economic characteristics have not been resolved sufficiently clearly. It is simply impossible to provide at any given stage for everything which should be subject to the attention of the criminal law: It cannot outstrip the solution of economic problems or act as a brake on them. Nor can it remain aloof. Thus it is necessary right now to learn how to separate the criminal from the permissible. For example, there arise in cooperatives covert forms of hired labor with elements of exploitation, particularly of children, which of course is contrary to our socialist principles. There have been cases of the establishment of bogus cooperatives, the production of falsified output, and so forth. The law must seek to eliminate economic crimes of that sort.

The criminal law guards the individual's life, health, rights, and interests. Thus the groundless institution of criminal proceedings against citizens and unlawful arrests and so forth are intolerable. The new criminal law could formulate more clearly the types of crimes and responsibility for them. And, of course, it could exclude situations which not only do not promote the struggle against crime but which, to be frank, engender crime themselves. I have in mind here primarily those articles of the laws which contain criminal liability for violations of passport regulations. Incidentally, those regulations in many ways do not tally with the USSR Constitution.

The existing criminal law served its purpose at a certain stage and produced quite a few positive results. But new problems have appeared and, unfortunately, old mistakes have remained and they must be rectified. There is no need to wait for new laws to do that. Much is being done in this respect by the prosecutor's office, MVD organs, justice, and the courts. However, not all that can or should be done is being done. Let us take court practice. What about when the laws are interpreted broadly under the guise of "intensifying" the struggle against crime? This leads to the conviction of people who are not subject to punishment under the criminal law.

I shall quote an example. The failure to compensate for the removal of property is a sign of theft. Such was the case until 1981, when a USSR Supreme Court Plenum adopted a resolution which states that if a culprit exchanges his scraggy calf, for example, for a well fed animal from the sovkhoz herd he is liable for theft of property not to the amount of the difference between the cost of the two calves but for theft amounting to full cost of the calf. Why? Such "intensifications" of the struggle against crime develop into a broad interpretation and application of the criminal law. And whereas unlawful arrest causes one person to suffer, erroneous court practice leads to the unjustified conviction of many.

When working on new legislation it is important to present an obstacle to free interpretation of the criminal law. However, even now, in my opinion, the USSR Supreme Court and the union republic supreme courts could correct all dubious resolutions since they often contain the root cause of violations committed by investigation and examination organs.

One final point. The criminal code must be based on the achievements of science. Not only criminal law and the law in general but also other sciences closely related to the law. For example, psychiatry and psychology when it is necessary to formulate such concepts as criminal capacity or incapacity and other questions guaranteeing legality in criminal proceedings.

That is why it is important to ensure that the drafts of new criminal legislation are widely discussed and take account of public opinion on the merits and shortcomings of legal practice and the law. New criminal law must reflect more fully the progressive principles of socialist society and the state: democracy, legality, and social justice.

Veteran Writes on Fate of WWII MIA's

PM211513 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 87 Second Edition p 6

[Article by USSR Honored Military Pilot Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General of Aviation G. Dolnikov under the rubric "View Across the Years": "A Word About Staunchness"]

[Text] I remember the minutest details of that sunny September day in 1943, the air battle over the Molochnaya River, and my routine combat sortie, which proved fateful.

The order was concise and stern: Not one fascist bomb must fall on our troops, who had assembled by the Dnepr. Fight to the last, even including ramming!

...The battle was unequal. There were six of us, while there were several groups of fascists, hell-bent on a bombing raid. I attacked the leading "Junkers." Antiaircraft guns were firing from the ground, and the gunner in the "Junkers" was shooting, but he seemed to fall silent after my long burst of fire. It has to be added that my gun had also fallen silent: I was out of ammunition. Without a moment's thought I undertook a ramming move. A hit!... I had time to notice the "Junkers" roll over. But my aircraft too was spinning toward the ground like a corkscrew. With difficulty I climbed out of the cockpit and pulled the ring... No wind at all, the parachute above me. My injured leg hurt... I heard foreign speech.

It is a terrible word—captivity. In my then quite recent childhood our neighbor, Uncle Aleksey, used to tell us in the evenings about the hard, humiliating roads he had traveled after he was captured by the Germans at the beginning of World War I. We listened open-mouthed. We saw Uncle Aleksey as a great martyr and hero. But his coevals, particularly those who had been through the

world war and the civil war and had returned covered with wounds and crippled, used to condemn Aleksey. They said he had sat out the whole war and was now alive and healthy...

"But do you really think I surrendered voluntarily to the Germans? There were thousands of us, and that is what war is about," Uncle Aleksey tried to justify himself.

...Beaten up and injured, I was dragged over to a small dugout and thrown onto the floor next to a table at which a portly and no longer young officer was seated. A doctor was summoned. Someone with a medical bag arrived and said sympathetically, in the purest Russian:

"Ah, one of Stalin's falcons! How have they beaten you up, compatriot? I am a former military doctor, and it is my duty to help you."

I realized this was a traitor before me. Getting out bandages, he went on growling:

"They will kill you all. And so it must be! You have sold Russia to the Yids and Bolsheviks..."

I could hold out no longer and kicked the traitor with my sound left leg. He tried to throw himself upon me, but the German officer stopped him and showed him the door. Suddenly all the Germans in the dugout began to guffaw—and I cannot choose a different word—all together: The compatriots, they said, got on passably well...

On that same day it fell to my lot to undergo an "experiment" conducted by the Gestapo. Incidentally, Mikhail Sholokhov portrayed a similar episode with real authenticity in his short story "A Man's Fate." Believe me that I was bitter and offended to the point of tears not at the sophisticated humiliation but at the fact that the fascists were being waited upon by a policeman, a former Soviet person, formerly one of us.

What happened the next day? I was taken to the fascist pilot I had downed.

"Well, the war is over for you. It is all right for you now," he said.

"I think not. I hope to fight again."

Today my words might strike some people as an act of bravado. But at the time I really was sure that not everything was lost and that I would still get even with the enemy. Perhaps I might even get to meet up in battle with the same fascist whom I rammed and brought down over the Molochnaya River.

...One day three Russians visited us in the camp. The senior one introduced himself as a former colonel in the Red Army, another as a major, and the third as a lieutenant. All without weapons, for the fascists evidently did not yet trust them, and with bright armbands on the sleeves of their overcoats—ROA [Russian Liberation Army]. "Liberators," in a word. They tried to explain to us that concern for their captive compatriots had prompted them to come. And, at the same time, to report on the German Army's imminent victory and on the future Russia without Communists. Is it not time, they said, for captured pilots to think about their future in this new Russia, as they put it? We did not let them hold forth for long. Everything at hand was flung at the traitors. We angrily and indignantly threw them out of the barrack.

Do not get the impression that then, in captivity, I saw and met only with traitors everywhere. Of course not! Even while in captivity our people struggled against the enemies. That is a fact.

The feat of our Army and our people is well known. But there were also scoundrels, self-seekers, and direct accomplices of the enemy in that cruel skirmish with fascism. Particularly during the first years of the war. And, unfortunately, they were not so few in number. They existed both among those taken prisoner or surrounded and among those who later came to be thought of as missing. And we should not keep quiet about this. There is no denying that many died, unknown, in battles. They fought courageously and honestly for the motherland. An incontestable fact. And it is our great misfortune that we have not succeeded in establishing the names of all who died. This torments us, and I simply do not know what can be done here. Most importantly, how are the relatives and friends of those servicemen to be consoled?

But, I believe, we also must not forget that there were those who quit the battlefield and voluntarily surrendered to the enemy. There is no hiding the fact that some of those scoundrels are still living abroad now. During the war years many of them waited upon the fascists, albeit not out of conscience but out of fear. Today, during the days of our victory festivals, can we indiscriminately promote all such people to the status of heroes? Of course not. That would be the height of disrespect for those who gave their lives for the homeland and fell heroically in battle.

Why am I recalling all this now, when all of us—both veterans and young people—have been drawn into the most mighty flow of revolutionary transformations, when 42 years now separate us from the victory, and when it would seem that much has been forgotten and wounds have cicatrized? No, the war lives on to this day in the people's soul and causes a constant gnawing pain in it. I am writing because I am gradually becoming aware of a growing protest against the fact that debates over questions which the times long ago answered are now flaring up time after time under slogans of glasnost. For example, these suggestions are being made: We

should reexamine our established attitude toward people who went missing in the war, and they should all be equated with front-line servicemen as regards rights and services.

What can be said here? Above all, I cannot fail to emphasize that at all times our homeland's defender has been noted for his very great staunchness. This quality has been strengthened a hundredfold in our Soviet epoch. It has always seemed to me that it is not our business to make young people weak-willed, with their bayonets stuck in the ground—atonement will come just the same—but, on the contrary, to inculcate vital staunchness in everything, and in the defense of the motherland in particular. A staunch person will forgo neither principles nor convictions, and it will not even cross his mind to abandon a comrade in trouble, still less to quit the battlefield. Our grandsons' affairs in Afghanistan are a vivid example of ideological and military staunchness.

As an illustration, I will continue the account of my stay in captivity. From the first day my comrades and I were unable to reconcile ourselves to our fate, and we made repeated escape attempts. The first attempt failed because of our haste and impulsiveness. There followed a cruel punishment: Ten hostages were shot. The second attempt also failed. And today I am convinced that someone betrayed us. One of our own...

And yet, during the night of 1-2 December 1943, six of us picked off the sentry and escaped from captivity. We wrested ourselves from hated captivity and made our way to our own people.

After long and humiliating checks, I, unlike many others, was entrusted with continuing my service.

I did not harbor a grudge. I realized that that was a grim necessity. For not all who were captured stayed loyal to the motherland. Of course, Mekhlis' formula, which was current in wartime—"Everyone who was captured is a traitor to the motherland"—has nothing in common with the truth or with a sober attitude toward people. The shamefulness of that formula lies in its wholesale mistrust of people and the unjust supposition that they were all captured because of their own cowardice. But the truth of life is such that there were also those who surrendered voluntarily to the enemy to save their skin. So, it was also necessary to run checks on people. Those checks reflected both the wartime sentiments and the very grave situation in the country.

There is no need to take offense here. The party made an assessment of all the negative phenomena of that time 31 years ago.

I returned to my own regiment and participated in combat operations until the last day of the war. I downed my 16th enemy aircraft in the skies over Berlin. To this day I would like to believe that that was the very fascist whom I failed to kill in 1943.

I was probably incomparably luckier than others. The motherland evaluated highly my modest combat services. In my opinion, everything is all right now for the former prisoners among us. But what about those who are listed as missing? What is needed here, so it seems to me, is a careful personal study of each destiny. We cannot, I believe, allow wholesale condemnation or forgiveness for everyone, just because it happened a long time ago, and everyone must not be treated alike. On no account must the title of hero take the place of a traitor's name.

There must be no people listed as missing. That is clear. It is necessary to seek. Everyone must seek—pathfinders, veterans, military commissariats, archive workers, regular soldiers. No obstacles must be erected in this search. This is the plane onto which I would take the conversation about the destinies of those listed as missing.

Academic Interviewed on Democratization

PM211449 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law and leader of the USSR Academy of Sciences comprehensive program "The Development of Socialist Democracy and the Problems of Self-management," by E. Mashin under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Guarantees of Freedoms"; date and place of interview not specified; boldface as published]

[Text] [Mashin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, the 10th anniversary of the USSR Constitution has arrived and it is possible to make a considered analysis of the contemporary situation linked with the basic law and its compatibility with the course of the fundamental restructuring of our society. Aren't there any contradictions?

[Kudryavtsev] I think that the 1977 constitution on the whole recognized the necessary preconditions for the country's further socioeconomic and political development. But it was not possible to carry out everything in a timely way. A number of progressive factors contained in the constitution were in a frozen state for many years. A braking mechanism was in force. It is not enough to proclaim a particular political freedom or to create a legal institution. It is necessary to ensure their execution. It is only as of next year that the USSR Law on the Procedure of Appeal to the Courts Against Actions by Officials will come into force. Yet this right is envisaged by Article 58 of the constitution. Remember that you and I attended the discussion of the draft law on individual labor activity a year ago. This act is directly linked with Article 17. Recently the Moscow Soviet determined

the procedure for applying Article 50 on the implementation of political freedoms—on the capital's territory, of course. As you can see, the constitution is increasingly included in work and is being given detailed expression in the current legislation.

At the same time one must not see even the basic law as something "forged for centuries." In the period since the April plenum time, as we have seen, has sharply accelerated its movement. Changes are under way at all levels of society and they are radical in many respects. Fundamentally new political and social thinking and experience is being accumulated. We are all students in the school of restructuring and its essence in its most concentrated form is: **More socialism, more democracy!** New social realities can present the legislative apparatus with new tasks.

[Mashin] Must we regard the USSR Academy of Sciences' comprehensive program as a kind of preparation for new juridical directives? When I heard about this work, in which major scientific forces are involved, I thought this.

[Kudryavtsev] I am afraid that your idea is to a certain extent the reflection of former psychological stereotypes. What were we used to? Lawmaking mainly occurred from above, sometimes in the interests of the administrative and bureaucratic apparatus. Therefore any novelties in the juridical sphere were until recently seen only as directives.

Restructuring has opened the way for the masses into the arena of political activity. It has just been said in Murmansk: **Everything concerns working people** It is **their** country, it is **their** system, and **their** society. They are the masters. Party organizations and cadres serve the people. And one more thing: Working people are now putting real pressure on cadres and on party organizations. In a good way, with a view to acceleration. We lawyers can also consider this **pressure** as a manifestation of legal activeness in labor collectives, which have come to recognize **their** role as masters of life endeavoring to establish order in **their** house. The course of democratization, designed to uncover the whole potential of the socialist system, in many ways merges with the awakening political consciousness of the masses. The economy and the social processes are giving rise to precedents which often can quite well be thought of as elements in the future creation of norms and models for relations between people in production, daily life, and informal contacts. Time selects what is best and most durable. Let us recall the enterprising experiments of N. Travkin, now a Hero of Socialist Labor. Originally given a hostile reception, they are now protected by weighty decisions and are recommended for dissemination. The development of cooperatives has made it possible for commerce to "invade" the sphere of culture also. We did not even think of this a year ago.

Our comprehensive program is a scientific program. We are proceeding from practical work, from the living creativity of the masses. This is also a new phenomenon in jurisprudence. We take a look: What is changing in life? We find out which strata of society are participating more constructively in restructuring and what results this is having. We try to understand why particular social groups adopt passive positions or have adopted a "blindly defensive attitude."

Thus, lawmaking is the final, editorial, as it were, stage in the social process and not the conservative beginning. It is a question not merely of revising the past but of continually reproducing democracy—socialist and all-peoples.

[Mashin] Is there not some exaggeration here, deliberate intent, a certificate of infallibility issued in advance to public opinion? Take a look at an elevator. Among the grains of high-grade wheat it is also possible to detect weed seeds. In the spring they will end up in the same furrow...

[Kudryavtsev] I am prepared to continue these analogies. Yes, democratization can also be compared with a plow which turns the long-fallow ground of life. Plowing has but one purpose—to grow something. Otherwise there is no point in turning the soil. Yes, democracy means expressing and realizing the will of the people, but the decision of one collective or one group of persons and their actions could also prove to be undemocratic and be carried out in narrow mercenary, nationalist, or other such interests. And we know of many such instances.

Various public organizations are now developing quite rapidly. Their activity is based chiefly on the norms of the twenties, which do not reflect the realities of our days. Some of them are being bureaucratized with amazing ease. As a car owner, I observe directly what happens in the society of car and motorcycle buffs. Bureaucrats have also turned up in "fresh-baked" cooperatives. A 100-percent democratic form, you might think. But no, here too a bureaucrat has shown his mettle, seeking to redistribute collective management in his own favor.

We are certainly not setting the task of rigidly regulating all forms of activity in life. But this activity must be introduced into the framework of social morality without pettiness and without encroaching upon it. There are principles of humanism, decency, and justice to which our people have always adhered and now adhere.

[Mashin] The processes of democratization are also ambiguous in labor collectives. At Moscow party gorkom I was familiarized with the results of the elections of the leaders of a number of enterprises and establishments. It turns out that the rule that I have remembered since childhood—"the majority is always right"—is not always borne out. There is factionalism, one's own people are pushed forward, there are squabbles. Is this democratization too?

[Kudryavtsev] I am not familiar with the facts that you know, and so, for that reason, I will refrain from making an assessment of them. Although there is nothing particularly new here. Such things happen. Levels of political awareness differ—so the results end up not benefiting but harming the collective. It can happen differently: passive conciliatoriness under pressure from the management. That is no good either. The general cause of distortions? The process of electing leaders has not been fully worked out legally. My personal viewpoint is that elections should not be held to a single pattern.

There are forms of activity in which elections are hardly acceptable. A certain newspaper recently went into raptures over the election of a militia department chief. Is that not profanation?

[Mashin] From what you say, should we not draw the more generalized conclusion that legal organs, by virtue of their specific nature, find themselves in a "forbidden zone" for democratization? This is a quite widespread view.

[Kudryavtsev] No, I would not say that. The sphere of legal activity is in the greatest need of democratization and effective monitoring on the part of society. The strengthening of legality is inconceivable without this. How is democratization to be carried out here? In-depth studies are needed. Our program provides for them. We turn to Lenin for advice. Here is a very brief summary of a section of the Bolshevik Party's 1919 Program: Make wider use of comrades' courts and suspended sentences, and switch from jails to educational establishments. What humaneness and genuine democratism! Ideas from the past? No, from the future. We still have to stretch out for them.

The edifice of justice has not yet been completed! Thus, during the preparations for the recent elections of judges and assessors working people voiced approximately 20,000 criticisms and suggestions. We see that it is necessary to increase the number of people's assessors in complex trials. Or another question—with what is the arbitrariness of certain administrative employees to be countered? With the universal legal culture of the population! A zealous official breaks into an apartment or demands a passport in the street without legitimate reason to do so, but the person does not know that he need not let him into his apartment and is not always obliged to produce documents. I will remark that criminals also frequently take advantage of citizens' ignorance of the law.

[Mashin] "Prevent anarchy"—our readers also write. As they see it, excess democracy can lead to elemental anarchy. Is it necessary to set any limits on democratization? As on a road—a gutter on the left and a gutter on the right.

[Kudryavtsev] I do not think there can be excess democracy. If the people are the source of power, then the free expression of their will determines the level of democratization that they need at a given moment. So it is a mobile process and also, to some extent, a changeable one, reflecting the mood of the masses.

At the center of this process are the soviets, which are called upon to act as the guarantor of political, economic, and personal rights and freedoms and implement all the requirements of the USSR Constitution. They too are now going through a crucial stage in their existence. And there is something to be recalled from the past. How many people do you think passed through the school of the soviets between 1917-1918 and 1936? Some 27 million people! Constant renewal, constant study of the art of managing the state! Lenin believed that the soviets must become a working corporation. Under him city soviet plenums were held once a week, and village soviet plenums twice a week.

The people's self-management starts where the soviet is really capable of managing. A strong and representative soviet influencing the entire diversity of life in the interests of the population within its own territory. The well-reasoned debate in the pages of several issues of *Sovetskaya Rossiya* associated with problems of self-financing in the zone of the village soviet is of real scientific interest in this respect.

Of course, this is just one direction of the search. Academy institutes, including ours, are developing various models of forms of self-management. It is necessary to strengthen the soviets and turn them into centers of not only state but economic leadership. It is precisely through the soviets that working people acquire the possibility of practical participation in the political life of the country and themselves become guarantors of constitutional freedoms.

[Mashin] In terms of the compressed nature of events every post-April year could be equated with many previous years. Let us look a year into the future...

[Kudryavtsev] I will not make a prediction, but I am convinced that there will be more of both socialism and democracy. The people will not give up restructuring. There is no way back.

Economic

Wider Use of Gas-Fueled Transport Urged

PM271611 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor Academician N. Cherskiy and Doctor of Technical Sciences Yu. Bokserman, USSR State Prize winner: "Economics and Ecology Are 'In Favor.' Transport Must Be Converted to Natural Gas"]

[Text] The world's known natural gas reserves will ensure the present level of gas extraction for more than 150 years. This leads many economists and power engineers to believe that the 21st century is going to be the

age of natural gas. More than 200 million people use it in our country, and natural gas has become the main fuel and raw material used in industry and power engineering for the production of many important chemical products.

In present-day conditions the gas industry is faced with a new task: to satisfy the national economy's growing need for motor fuels via gas and the liquid hydrocarbons contained in it, primarily the butane and propane fractions.

Lvov has long-standing experience in this field. *Izvestiya* carried a report on it as early as 1980. Decisions to develop large-scale work to replace petroleum motor fuel with gas were taken at the beginning of the 12th 5-Year Plan. It was planned to convert up to 1 million motor vehicles and buses to compressed and liquefied gas by 1990 and thereby save many millions of tonnes of gasoline and diesel fuel. However, these decisions are not being satisfactorily implemented. Gas-filling stations already built are only being used to one-third capacity. Only half of all gas cylinder vehicles actually operate on gas: The rest still use gasoline and diesel fuel, which are in short supply. Particularly poor use is being made of gas cylinder trucks at enterprises under the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee. This situation can only be explained by an irresponsible attitude to this important task. After all, gas cylinder vehicles are being used to almost full capacity in the Belorussian SSR under identical conditions and a considerable amount of work is being done by motor transport ministries in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan.

What are the reasons for this slow conversion of the truck pool to natural gas?

We will start with gas-filling stations. They take a long time to build—12 to 18 months—and are all of the same capacity: 500 filling operations per day. The USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building's M.V. Frunze Machine Building Science and Production Association at Sumy, together with specialists from the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry, has designed a new type of modular container station with various capacity levels which can be assembled in just 20 days (this is instead of a year, remember!). The only thing, of course, is that the foundations and utilities must be installed in good time. But the manufacture of this innovation is still very limited. Truck drivers are rightly requesting that the manufacture of modular unit equipment be organized for stations with a capacity of 75 filling operations, which could be installed directly at all major motor vehicle facilities.

The same ministry—the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building—must also organize the production of mobile gas fueling units. They will help to radically improve the efficiency of motor transport gas-filling facilities. The point is that gas-filling stations mainly refuel vehicles in the first shift. Mobile gas fueling units could be sent out in the mornings to motor vehicle enterprises for the second and third shifts. The problem of trucks making empty runs to refuel will thereby be completely eliminated. However, the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, which was supposed to manufacture 700 mobile stations, has failed to provide truck drivers with a single one. They are therefore having to be slapped together.

Experience has shown that it is virtually impossible to ensure that vehicles run efficiently on gas without these fueling units. They are particularly important in agriculture, where a considerable proportion of the tractor pool, which currently consumes millions of tonnes of diesel fuel each year, could be converted to gas fuel. But at present the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building are paying no attention to this. On the initiative of the Kirov Agricultural Institute, the necessary equipment has been designed and a tractor from the Vladimir plant has been converted to gas fuel. But this is the only such case at present. However, operations are actively under way abroad to convert tractors to gas fuel. Romania has built up good experience in this field.

There are also problems involved with the siting of gas-filling stations. As a rule, local soviets assign them sites a long way from motor vehicle enterprises. This is because they are being rather overcautious. Long empty runs by vehicles are inevitable as a result. We think that filling stations for liquid petroleum fuel and compressed and liquefied gas should all be located on the same site. This promises large savings. This kind of solution is already being implemented in many Western countries.

So far high-pressure gas (200 atmospheres) has been discussed for use as motor fuel. But it would also be possible to build filling stations without compressors on gas mains, at gas fields, and at underground depots, where gas pressure reaches 75 atmospheres. Ukrainian Academy of Sciences institutes, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Motor Transport, the Tajik Council of Ministers, and organizations under the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry have put forward initiatives for using medium-pressure gas. To increase the mileage of vehicles running on such gas, Kiev, for example, is adding low-grade gasoline and gas condensate to the gas.

We would particularly like to point out that using gas as a motor fuel has great significance for improving the environment. The toxic content of exhaust fumes from vehicles converted to gas is 4-5 times lower than present levels. This is especially important in large cities, where half of all air pollution is caused by transportation. This problem is even more serious in quarries, where the air smoke levels are often way above maximum permitted levels.

As well as motor vehicles and tractors, it would also be expedient to convert mainline and especially shunting diesel locomotives to gas. The first gas-fueled shunting

diesel locomotive is currently being tested. Calculations show that mainline diesel locomotives should be converted to high-pressure and liquefied gas. However, a liquid methane plant has been in the construction stages for more than 10 years now; all the deadlines have been violated.

The great importance of the problem of replacing petroleum motor fuel with gas was discussed at a recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee. The heads of ministries, departments, and local party and soviet organizations, who have failed to properly organize the implementation of decisions on converting transport to gas, were criticized.

As the conference pointed out, gas cylinder vehicles are still being sent to regions where there are no AGNKS's [motor vehicle compressed-gas filling stations]. This illogical practice must be immediately eliminated by the USSR Gossnab. The USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry's Ryazan Plant supplies inferior quality gas equipment. But many years ago, when the conversion of vehicles to gas was only just beginning, this equipment was perfectly acceptable. Even the cylinders were made of alloyed steel and weighed approximately 60 kg instead of the 90 kg or more of the cylinders now used. The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy only recently began supplying cylinders of alloyed steel and only in small quantities (150,000 per year, against requirements of more than 1 million cylinders). The same ministry has made absolutely no preparation for organizing the production of cylinders with a capacity of up to 1,000 liters, which are extremely vital to the manufacture of mobile gas fueling units and the conversion of diesel engines to gas. Work to produce lightweight fiberglass cylinders is moving extremely slowly.

The conversion of transport to natural gas is a task of major state importance. Economic and soviet bodies in the center and at local level must become more actively involved in the fulfillment of this task. This will make it possible to save millions of tonnes of oil.

Agricultural

Nikonov Address Agro-Industrial Conference

LD281719 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Text] An all-union conference on problems of improving scientific provision for agriculture and industry has been held in Moscow. It was opened by Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

He said that workers in the agro-industrial complex, like all Soviet people, are aspiring to meet the 70th anniversary of the Great October in a worthy way and to give the country as many different foodstuffs and as much industrial raw material as possible.

At the same time, Comrade Nikonov stressed, one cannot fail to see that the rate of production of agricultural produce is still not in accordance with requirements of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum for a sharp improvement of the food supply to the population over the next 2 or 3 years. Many problems, particularly in processing produce, remain to be resolved. Everything that now has to be done is connected with developing science and making use of front-ranking experience.

The report by Comrade Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, was devoted to making fuller use of scientific production potential. Accelerating scientific and technical progress, he noted, is the main task in the agro-industrial complex. The work of scientific institutions should be evaluated not according to what they publish but according to results achieved by practical workers.

The shortcomings in the activity of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKHNIL] which have arisen in the last 10 years have not been overcome in full. The work of many institutes is not orientated toward resolving the most important tasks, such as making farming more stable and improving preservation of produce.

Comrade Murakhovskiy dwelled in detail on tasks facing scientists, the party, and the government in improving scientific provision for development of the country's agro-industrial complex and restructuring scientific establishments' activity and for accomplishing their transition to self-recouping and self-financing.

Agricultural Developments for 28 Oct Reported

LD290750 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 28 October. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

28 October

Farmers in Ganchskiy Rayon in Tadzhikistan have put more than 4,100 metric tons of grain into state storage, far more than pledged. All rayon farms are now sowing winter crops at fast rates. Adjoining rayons in North Tadzhikistan are also sowing winter and cereal crops. (0304 GMT)

A new crop called sorris, from the words sorghum and rice, has been developed by the Moldavian scientific production association for corn and sorghum and tested at the 40-let Oktyabrya collective farm, Kotovskiy Rayon. Sorghum and Sudan-grass were used in its cultivation. The new crop is similar to rice in its food qualities, but like sorghum and Sudan-grass, it is drought-resistant, grows well in drylands, and ripens for cutting at the time

when the harvesting of corn and other late crops is coming to an end. It is designed as a feed grain and has a yield of 50-60 quintals per hectare. (0420 GMT)

Chuvash ASSR agricultural workers have fulfilled the plan for vegetables sales to the state. More than 54,000 metric tons of produce have gone from fields to procurement stations and shops. (0500 GMT)

Saratov Oblast has so far sold 40,000 metric tons of above-plan beets. (1200 GMT)

Cotton-picking in Uzbekistan has been complicated by the sharp drop in temperature. Snowfalls have completely halted picking. The situation is especially bad in the Fergana Valley, where the snow is .5 meters deep in places. Trees have collapsed under the weight of snow in several rayons, bringing down power lines. Road transport has been hampered. Steps are now being taken in the republic to deal with the consequences of the natural disaster. (1200 GMT)

Oblast Beet, Grain Harvest Data Reported

PM281527 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Sovetskaya Rossiya*'s First Edition and *Selskaya Zhizn* in Russian carry on 21 October 1987 several front-page reports providing harvest data: in *Selskaya Zhizn*, under the general rubric "Bringing in and Preserving the Whole Harvest," and in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, under separate headlines.

Selskaya Zhizn's Arkalyk, 20 October dispatch titled "Into the State Granaries" reports that Turgay Oblast has "finished threshing the last areas of cereal crops. Each hectare has yielded almost 2 quintals more wheat and barley than last year." "The plan target for the sale of grain to the state has been fulfilled, the item goes on: "More than 1.43 million tonnes of grain—mainly strong, durum, and valuable varieties—have been shipped to the elevators. All the sovkhozes and kolkhozes have supplied themselves fully with seed and have stocked up with the requisite quantity of feed." The item concludes by saying that "the sale of grain to the state is continuing."

The same paper's report "Commitments Fulfilled" reports from Yoshkar-ola on the progress of the harvest in the Mari ASSR, stating that "the 2-year plan for the sale of grain, potatoes, vegetables, fruit and berries, fiber-flax seed, meat, milk, and wool to the state has been completed." Livestock and crop farmers there have "achieved a substantial increase in the production of agricultural output. In comparison with the corresponding period for the last 5-year plan it has increased by 8% on average. Above-plan production is continuing."

"Success For the Sugar Beet Farmers," also in *Selskaya Zhizn*, affirms that Saratov Oblast's crop farmers have "fulfilled their socialist pledges for selling sugar beet to the state."

Sovetskaya Rossiya's report "Using Waste-free Technology" states that 2 million tonnes of sugar beet have been dispatched to refineries in Tambov Oblast at an average yield per hectare of 210 quintals—20 quintals above the plan. A second report, titled "Above the Plan," states that in Voronezh Oblast "for the first time in 10 years the plan for the sale of sugar beet to the state has been fulfilled. More than 4 million tonnes of roots have been dispatched to reception centers."

Mid-October Weather, Crop Status Reviewed

PM291451 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Oct 87 p 2

[Report by agrometeorologist A. Grishina: "The Weather and the Crops"]

[Text] Over most of the country's European territory the weather in the second 10-day period of October remained moderately warm, dry, and sunny, favoring the completion of harvest work. But there was air and ground frost at night, capable of damaging the leaves of corn, lifted but uncovered potatoes, root crops, and heat-loving vegetable crops.

In most of the North, Central, Volga-Vyatka, and Ural regions, and in the northern half of the Volga region, winter grain crops growth was restricted to daylight hours. The dry, sunny weather with a wide daily temperature range was conducive to the passage of the first phase of hardening of winter grain crops.

Over the rest of the USSR's European territory, active growth of winter grain crops continued. In most oblasts of the Northwest and Central Chernozem regions and in the Baltic republics, Belorussia, and western and northern oblasts of the Ukraine winter grain crops had good conditions for growing and taking root. Winter crops sown in August and early September continued to tiller. Crops sown later were in the germination and third-leaf phases. Most of the crops are in good shape. There were 25-35 mm of productive moisture in the arable soil layer. In some parts of Estonia, Belorussia, Latvia, and Pskov, Novgorod, and Leningrad Oblasts, the ground remain waterlogged.

There were 2-4 days of rain in Moldavia and western oblasts of the Ukraine. There were 15-25 mm, in places as much as 30 mm of precipitation. The rain made harvest work difficult, but the supplies of productive moisture in the arable layer were replenished.

In the southeast Ukraine, the North Caucasus region, and the Lower Volga area there were strong winds (18-25 meters per second), and there were dust storms in a number of oblasts of the Lower Volga area and North Caucasus region.

In the Transcaucasian republics, the weather was moderately warm and mainly dry for most of the period, helping heat-loving subtropical corps to ripen and winter grain crops to grow.

In farming areas of Siberia and in Kazakhstan the weather stayed cold, with frost everywhere at night. In most northern oblasts of Kazakhstan and in Novosibirsk, Tyumen, and Omsk Oblasts, where there was little or no rain, conditions for completing harvest work were satisfactory. Over the remaining territory, there was precipitation in the form of snow, and some parts were under 2-10 cm of snow. The ground was frozen to a depth of 5-10 cm.

It was unusually cold in the Central Asian republics. The temperature was 4-7 degrees lower than average over the 10-day period. There was frost (minus 1-minus 6 degrees) nearly everywhere. There was frost damage to cotton plants, and they stopped growing 10-20 days earlier than average. The cotton harvest continued. In most parts it was taking place in dry weather, the exceptions being Tajikistan, Kirghizia, and Surkhandarya Oblast, where there was rain at the beginning of the period.

Problems Noted in Crop Processing

PM291151 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1

[N. Sadullayev "Agricultural Review": "Responsible for Quality"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that farmers in many parts of the country are completing the field work. Potatoes, for example, have been harvested on 2.6 million hectares and sugar beet on 2.9 million hectares. The sunflower harvest has been somewhat delayed—one-third of the crop is still in the ground. Farms are continuing feed procurements. By the start of the 3d 10-day period of October, around 79 million metric tons of hay had been laid in, along with 86 million metric tons of haylage, and 269 million metric tons of silage. Grain growers are devoting a lot of time to next year's harvest. Winter crops have been sown on 36 million hectares—93% of the plan. Fall plowing is slower than last year. It has been carried out on only 78.3 million hectares.

The early onset of cold weather in the cotton cultivation zones could seriously hamper harvesting and processing of the harvest. Five million metric tons of cotton have been delivered to procurement centers so far—20% less than by this time last year.

The sector's enterprises prepared the material and technical base in good time and commissioned extra storage facilities and ginning and drying-cum-ginning shops. In the 1st 9 months, a total of 38,400 metric tons of fiber was produced in excess of the plan. But the rate of production is lower than the rate for the corresponding period last year. It could be substantially increased by making maximum use of existing production capacities.

It is a worrying fact that the All-Union Main Administration for the Delivery of Raw Materials for Light Industry at the USSR Light Industry Ministry has been slow to issue shipment schedules. By 1 October, for example, 41,800 metric tons of cotton products made from fine-fiber varieties remained unsold, including 35,500 metric tons from the 1986 harvest. Moreover, there are no schedules for the 65,700 metric tons of fiber which will be obtained in the 4th quarter of this year. This is what happens when the processors and the light industry enterprises fail to coordinate their actions.

Much of the plant equipment is quite obsolete, the level of mechanization of procurement center operations is extremely low, and there are no effective instruments for monitoring the quality of the raw material coming in.

Fine-fiber cotton is finding it particularly difficult to get processed. All it needs is for extra ginning facilities to be set up so that the material can go through a fourfold cleaning process. The farmers are waiting impatiently for a new cotton-harvesting machine which would help to reduce the amount of foreign material among the cotton.

In recent years, responsibility for cotton quality has been enhanced on farms, and fiber output has increased at enterprises. But the textile industry needs a certain range and quality of fiber. So it makes the final assessment. Consequently, final accounts have to be settled with cotton suppliers on this basis, as is already the practice in the Uzbek SSR and some parts of other republics.

There are problems with the sale of dry silkworm cocoons. Some 5,000 metric tons of them have piled up at driers. By the beginning of May, 1,475 metric tons of cocoons harvested in 1986, worth around R40 million, remained unsold at USSR State Agro-industrial Committee enterprises alone. Moreover, the Light Industry Ministries of the Ukraine and Georgia had delayed reception of 95 tons of dry cocoons from enterprises in Uzbekistan. This situation can hardly considered normal. Especially as even today, because of the above-normative backlog of material, the union republics' light industry ministries are refusing to accept all the dried cocoons of the 1987 harvest.

Work continues in the flax fields. The long-stemmed flax ripened earlier than usual. Many farms in the Ukraine and Belorussia organized their work well and have already finished harvesting. But the pulling of flax has been delayed in kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Pskov, Novgorod, Yaroslavl, and Kostroma Oblasts.

Leading workers' experience shows that the roll technique and the reception of flax in the form of straw make it possible to sharply accelerate harvesting and reduce losses of raw material, particularly in bad weather. Of

course, assimilation of these progressive methods depends greatly on the processors. Where the handling of the flax has been transferred to industry, good end results are being obtained.

But most enterprises are slow to switch to this progressive method. Of course, it is not just a matter of the processors' will. There is a shortage of capacities, particularly retting shops. Treatment of the raw material is badly organized—often only in a single shift, although enterprises are supposed to operate around the clock. Because plants are not operating at full power, large backlogs of raw material are accumulating. Some flax plants have enough for 12-18 months.

The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and its enterprises are not paying enough attention to the primary processing of flax. Raw material resources now considerably exceed capacities. Reconstruction of plants is a slow process. Construction of some facilities has been delayed. Development of capacities for the primary processing of flax in the RSFSR is poor.

By 1 October, the country had accumulated 27,000 metric tons of short-stemmed flax, hemp, and ambary. It is all still lying in the storage facilities. Who is going to receive it?

Planning bodies are also to blame for trying not to notice the substantial discrepancies between production and processing targets in the case of cotton, cocoons, flax, and ambary. The losers are the processing enterprises, which are experiencing serious financial problems because of enormous difficulties they are having marketing the output.

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